2;Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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conservative, distrustful of whites, and, in general, less acculturated than others who are young, literate, moderately educated, progressive, and well assimilated. There is an antipeyote faction, and even within the peyote faction there is a schism between the Big Moon and Little Moon adherents. These various factions promote discord, so much so that any unified tribal activity is virtually impossible. The Delawares are, then, no longer a distinct social group. Delaware society has disappeared, although allegiance to a number of the ancient culture traits lingers.

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The most notable remnant of socioreligious organization still perpetuated by both Oklahoma Delaware communities is the phratry. Adults still acknowledge membership in one or more of the phratries. Membership was originally determined by descent in the female line, but this is no longer true; a person inherits membership in both his mother's and father's phratry, so that many individuals consider themselves to be "half and half." An individual can belong to no more than two of the three phratries. Consequently, it is apparent that if this method of reckoning membership is carried on for many generations most people will belong to two of the three phratries. There is no memory of any other system of reckoning membership. Obviously, the shift in the method of determining phratry membership has been caused by the emphasis on the paternal line in American society. At least among the Cherokee-Delawares the pressure has not been strong enough to shift the system from simple matrilineal reckoning all the way to patrilineal, as in our patronymics; it has gone but an illogical part way. Phratry membership originally depended upon clan ties, but there is no knowledge of them today in either Delaware community. The conclusion is inescapable that the clan organization disappeared before the Delawares left Kansas.

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An interesting factor contributing to the eventual extinction of Delaware culture and also to social heterogeneity is found in present marriage restrictions. It is considered incestuous for a person to marry anyone to whom he is related, however remotely. This means that in both Oklahoma communities the young Delaware boys and girls cannot marry other Delawares, since everybody is considered to be related to everyone else. Some of the feelings about this point were: "The young people are disgusted, can't find anybody they're not kin to" (O.A.). "We're disappearing as fast as we can 'cause we got nobody to marry" (O.A.). "It's awful when you marry kinfolks" (M.B.). Briefly, one generation hence there will be no person who is more than half Delaware biologically, and probably none more than half sociologically. (This subject is taken up more fully under Pan-Indianism.) Within the last several decades the Delawares have taken to marrying legally and are completely assimilated in this respect.

### *Religious Assimilation*

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Big House Ceremony.—Without a doubt the most tenacious and unchanging elements in Delaware culture, aside from language, have been

2;Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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final day of the ceremony. At the time of the wartime meetings there were no women left who had had visions. Perhaps this is why they were called upon to offer prayers instead.

There was friction in at least one of the meetings since the leader, J.W., sold the scarce, virtually sacred wampum donated by other Delawares. The people who purchased the wampum were frequently strangers or curiosity seekers; they were seldom donors. Friction also occurred when some peyotists prayed in their fashion. One individual said of this friction:

> Ben Hill asked people to get up and pray — to pray to the fire. Nobody did for awhile so I got up. I prayed like a white preacher does, but in Indian. I prayed to the fire, and asked that all the boys be returned safely. I prayed that my boy would come back safe. I went on praying and I got to crying. Then I sat down. Then E. J. got up and prayed the same way, then a man. After that T.M. got up and said he didn't believe you could pray that way in this meeting. I felt so funny, I was crushed. I didn't go back after that. (O.A.)

The form of prayer that O.A. described is common in the local version of the Big Moon peyote cult, with the exception that in the peyote ceremony the prayer is accompanied by the smoking of a Bull Durham cornhusk cigarette.

Even with what little is known about the wartime Big House ceremonies it is plain that they were more a reflection of the old rites than a faithful duplication of them. They lasted twelve days, visions were recited, some venison was eaten, but in almost every other respect they were changed. The few young people who attended did not know where to sit; even if they knew their phratry membership they probably did not know where that phratry belonged in the meeting house. The arbor was a poor substitute for the log Big House; there was room for only one fire, and the carved heads were missing. There could be no hunt for deer, because there were no deer. In one meeting O.A. persuaded a rancher to contribute a deer, but it was impossible to feed the participants for twelve days with one deer.

After 1924 the Big House Ceremony withered away. It was briefly revived because of the stimulus of the second world war, but this revival was only a dim reflection of the original ceremony. Joe Washington and Ben Hill, the spark plugs of the wartime meetings, are dead. The few remaining participants who are familiar with the ritual are old and are not imparting their knowledge to others; and many Delawares who formerly participated have focused their attentions on the peyote cult. Informants gave two reasons why they preferred peyotism to the traditional religious forms: first, peyotism is cheap, but in the Big House Ceremony the "Bringer-in" is primarily responsible for the cost which in 1930 was one hundred and fifty dollars.[8] In a peyote meeting the cost is negligible in comparison and is often shared by the participants. Second, only Delawares can participate in the Big House Ceremony, and individual Delawares often have only a few Delaware friends,

[8] Speck, 1931, p. 24.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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although they have many Indian friends of other tribes. Any Indian can participate in peyote meetings, and a few people can hold one, whereas the Big House Ceremony requires a large co-operative group of people. Associated with the advantages of peyotism is the fact that the Delawares are even more scattered than they were during the war and would have a difficult time getting together for a twelve-day Big House Ceremony. The disintegration of the Big House Ceremony is regretted by many Delawares, but nothing is being done, or can be done, to revive it.

It is not entirely clear when most other elements of Delaware religion disappeared or were replaced. The reason for this is that no other ceremonies were as universal or as well known as the Big House Ceremony. Nevertheless, it is possible to make estimates which probably are reliable.

Vision quest.—The Delawares no longer seek visions, and apparently few people have unsolicited visions. Informants frequently claim that "no one can have visions because the earth is no longer clean" (M.B.), or that one has to be "morally clean" to obtain a vision (N.D.). Few people living in a white man's world can claim these virtues, informants add. No young people were encountered who had had visions, solicited or otherwise. Several middle-aged and old people claimed to have had visions, but their visions had not been solicited. The guardian spirit of one informant (R.W.), for instance, was the Mask Being. This deity had appeared when the man was in delirium following an automobile accident. The vision quest was probably declining in popularity before the Cherokee-Delawares reached Oklahoma and shortly thereafter disappeared entirely. Supernatural beings encountered in a peyote trance are not regarded as guardian spirits.

Sweat bathing, Shamanism.—Sweat bathing disappeared among the Cherokee-Delawares during the early decades of this century. O.A. was given a sweat bath as a child, as a cure for some childhood illness. Shamans often presided over sweat bathing, and the last Cherokee-Delaware shaman (Chief Elkhair) died almost two decades ago. M.B. of the Anadarko Delawares claimed that sweat baths were in vogue there until "a few years ago."

Curing.—Although shamans and sweat bathing have passed into oblivion there is still secular knowledge and perhaps use of native medicines and cures. These are useful in love, for fevers, hiccoughs, colic in children, and the like. One informant (N.D.), for example, had inherited from her mother some sort of animal foot plus rules and ritual which were used as "love medicine." N.D. used this magical device once successfully, but is reluctant to use it again. It is doubtful if she will pass these secrets along to her daughter. Peyote, government doctors, and hospitals seem to have supplemented native therapy — medicinal and supernatural — for more important illnesses.

Doll Dance.—According to Kinietz, "The Doll Dance which was a family responsibility has not been held since 1929."[9] This agrees with my information, although the last remaining doll owner had vowed to

[9] Kinietz, 1946, p. 14.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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give a dance in the summer of 1951. The vow was probably brought on by the woman's illness but she died before the dance could take place At the present time the Cherokee-Delawares are in possession of only this one doll. All other dolls have been lost, given to missionaries, buried with their owners, or sold to museums.

Otter-Tail Dance.—This dance was unknown to the Anadarko Delawares, and it has been long defunct among the Cherokee-Delawares. O.A. saw it for the last time in 1902. According to her, the house in which the otter tail was kept burned down and the otter hide was destroyed, thus ending the dance.

177+ 795

Delaware Peyotism.—Petrullo has provided a description and analysis of the history and content of peyotism among the Delawares.[10] My concern, therefore is to indicate the importance and role of peyote in the religious assimilation of the Delawares, and also to describe what changes, if any, have taken place in Delaware peyotism since the time of Petrullo's investigation in 1929-30.

Peyote *(Lophophora williamsii)* is a spineless, carrot-shaped, grayish-green cactus, which in this country grows primarily in the lower Rio Grande Valley. When eaten, either green or dried, or drunk as tea, peyote has the property of heightening or sharpening the perception of color, form, and sound, or inducing visual and/or auditory hallucinations. A knowledge of the properties of peyote and its utilization in religious ceremonies antedates recorded history in Mexico. It was not until late in the nineteenth century, however, that knowledge of peyote and a new ceremonial use of it developed and spread widely among the demoralized reservation Indians of the United States. The modern peyote ceremony is essentially "a collective all-night vigil in which, through prayer, contemplation, and eating peyote, the peyotist receives a divine revelation."[11]

Peyotism was brought to the Cherokee-Delawares about 1885 by John Wilson, a part-Delaware from Anadarko. This man became a peyotist about 1880, and in subsequent years he converted many Delawares in the Anadarko and Dewey areas.[12] His influence spread far beyond tribal borders, however, and he has been called "the most significant figure in the diffusion of the religion in Oklahoma since 1885."[13] The John Wilson version of peyotism, variously termed Big Moon or Moonhead, is today the most important form of peyotism in number of adherents among the Cherokee-Delawares. The Anadarko Delawares also seem to favor a Big Moon variant. The more conservative, Little Moon version was introduced to the Cherokee-Delawares somewhat later than the Big Moon, and it still finds some adherents.[14] As far as being a causative agent in the decline and disappearance of traditional religion is concerned, peyote has played a negligible role. Many individuals practiced and believed in both religious creeds; Chief Elkhair,

[10] Petrullo, 1934.
[11] LaBarre, *et al.*, 1951, pp. 582-83.
[12] Petrullo, 1934, p. 83.
[13] *Ibid.*, pp. 78-79.
[14] *Ibid.*, p. 32; F.W.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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for instance, the man who brought the Little Moon version to the Cherokee-Delawares, was a prominent participant in the Big House Ceremony. Peyote did not diffuse to the Delawares at the expense of traditional religious forms; instead, the gap left in Delaware existence following the decline of the traditional ceremonies was filled by peyotism. Peyotism was a creed born and tailored to fit into the ideological life of much acculturated societies. It was, as Petrullo said, "the natural but final recourse of a subjugated people who fully realize the inadequacy of their material means to restore their former world-state."[15] Peyotism was, after all, spawned in its modern form by the Kiowas and Comanches, who were facing the same sort of adjustment as were the Delawares. Small wonder, then, that it replaced the dissipated ceremonies and rites of the Delawares. Petrullo listed twenty-three elements which were common to both peyotism and the old Delaware religion. He found fifteen important elements of the traditional religion lacking in peyotism and eight important elements in peyotism lacking in the traditional forms.[16] In short, the majority of important traits of peyotism were already elements of Delaware cosmology. None of the important elements of peyotism, lacking in Delaware belief, can be said to be antagonistic to traditional Delaware customs. There has never been a rejection of the old forms of religion. "Their faith in the old doctrines and religious rites has remained unshaken, and they would revive the entire structure if they could."[17] One of Petrullo's informants, James C. Webber, put it rather succinctly when he said: "The old Delaware religion is too heavy for us who are becoming few and weak. It is too difficult; Peyote is easy in comparison. Therefore we who are weak take up this new Indian religion."[18]

It is not suggested, however, that peyotism has ever entirely replaced the defunct religion of the Delawares. The performance of the Big House Ceremony during World War II and the observance of this ceremonial and others earlier in this century suggest this point of view. When the national and world situation was felt to be desperate, the Delawares turned to the old rites; peyotism was not sufficient. Peyotism was originally and is now considered to be more efficacious at an individual level in curing both mental and physical ailments than in curing or ameliorating broad social and economic ills. In sum, because of the dissipation of the Delawares, both numerically and as a social unit, the old religious ceremonials could no longer be held; the belief in them has not died. Peyotism gradually took the place of the old ceremonials because it was understood and fitted in with the old religious concepts.

It was expected that during the twenty-two years since Petrullo's study there would be some sort of alteration in Delaware peyotism. By and large this did not occur. It is thought that fewer Delawares are participants in peyotism today, but no comparative data are available. I have a first-hand acquaintance only with the Big Moon version of

[15] Petrullo, 1934, p. 1.
[16] *Ibid.*, pp. 188-70.
[17] *Ibid.*, p. 38.
[18] *Ibid.*, p. 78.

2:Newcomb E-4, 5 (1951-1952) 1956
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peyotism, and in this there are no essential differences from those that Petrullo described. The Big Moon version is the more liberal and contains more Christian elements than does the Little Moon. Thus, if diffusion of Christian traits has continued, it more likely has occurred in the Big Moon version. In the Big Moon meeting which I attended, some features were present which were lacking in Petrullo's accounts, and some features were lacking which were present in Big Moon meetings attended by him. There were, however, no essential differences in these meetings separated by more than two decades. The meeting I attended might very well have taken place in 1930 instead of 1952. Since peyotism is essentially individualistic, and since there is no institutionalized priesthood or specific creed, minor differences in form and procedure are to be expected.[19] Petrullo found substantial, but inconsequential differences in the Big Moon meetings which he attended. He gave, for instance, eight variations of the Big Moon altar;[20] the altar I saw was not identical with any of these, yet the basic features of all the altars were similar.

*Linguistic Assimilation*

It has been said that of all culture traits language is the most persistent; this has been true for Delaware acculturation. During the earlier periods of acculturation there was virtually no replacement of language, although a few individuals learned English as a second language. In the Decadent Period there probably was an increase in the number of Delawares familiar with English. With permanent settlement in Oklahoma and the increased enrollment of Delaware children in government schools, this situation gradually altered. At the present time no Cherokee-Delaware, whatever his age or acculturative status, habitually speaks Delaware; all speak English. It is within the last generation that this change has taken place. I queried thirty-two persons and found that the native language of only three was English, and these three were thirty-five years old or younger. The youngest native speaker of Delaware was twenty-six. The native language of every person over thirty-five in the Cherokee-Delaware group was Delaware (or Munsi). Most of these people learned English when they were sent away to school. Present proficiency in Delaware varies tremendously, but there seems to be a correlation between age and proficiency (see Fig. 4). The people who speak Delaware well are usually older, but some of the younger people, because of individual inclination or association, speak it fluently. With the exception of three young persons, all people queried at least understood Delaware. Nine said they spoke Delaware well, five said their ability to speak Delaware was average, seven said it was poor, and eight understood but did not speak Delaware. These categories are admittedly imprecise, and the Delawares placed themselves on this linguistic scale, so that one person who said he spoke Delaware well may have been actually less fluent than another who said his ability was

[19] Petrullo, 1934, p. 149.
[20] *Ibid.*, Pls. 3-6.

2;Newcomb E-4,5 (1951-1952) 1956
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> ...there has arisen a sympathetic attitude of the various tribal units towards each other, with the result that intercourse between them has become common, and each other's rites are observed and studied with the avowed purpose of comparison. This constant interchanging of ideas is giving rise to a novel feeling for Indian nationality.... The Delawares are actively participating in this, and as a result not only have they assimilated many of the ideas emanating from other tribes, but have disseminated their own widely.[26]

### Cherokee-Delaware Pan-Indianism

The peyote cult has always been essentially an intertribal phenomenon and this is true of Cherokee-Delaware peyotism today. It is probably the most important influence leading to Cherokee-Delaware participation in Pan-Indian society. Meetings are always held with Indians of other tribes, and in one which I attended, for example, besides the Delaware who sponsored it, a Winnebago (Roadman), Shawnees, and a Siouan couple from the Pine Ridge Reservation were present. Cherokee-Delaware peyotists frequently attend meetings with the Osages and Shawnees and also participate in meetings with Indians of many other tribes. Cherokee-Delaware peyotists feel closer and are more friendly to non-Delaware peyotists than they are to Delawares who are not members of the cult. Most Delaware peyotists belong to the more liberal and Christianized sect which has been termed Big Moon; a few are adherents of the Little Moon sect. Members of one sect ordinarily do not attend meetings of the other. The peyotists are ardent participants in, and often highly vocal advocates of, their cult, whereas the Protestants (who seem to be slightly more numerous) can be described as minimal or nominal members of their churches. The attractiveness of peyotism was especially apparent among the young men; none were encountered who were not peyotists. This may be partly explained by a feeling that peyotism is somewhat daring, and that it serves to announce to others that here is a person proud to be an Indian. The singing of peyote songs and the manufacture of peyote regalia are also pastimes of the young men. Membership in Protestant churches is not considered daring, it does not single out a member from his fellows, and it does not provide him with a pastime.

Brant has said that the peyote cult in southwestern Oklahoma "constitutes the religious symbol of what might be called a Pan-Indian movement."[36] LaBarre has summed up the Pan-Indian aspect of peyotism, and his remarks are also applicable to the Cherokee-Delawares: "The Indians feel, perhaps rightly, that peyotism is their last strong link with the aboriginal past, which others are trying to destroy. Hence it has contributed greatly to the sense of community and morale of the Indian groups in Oklahoma."[37]

Many social activities of the Cherokee-Delawares are expressions of

[26] Petrullo, 1934, p. 38.
[36] Brant, 1950, p. 222.
[37] LaBarre, 1938, p. 166.

776 778 power. Besides its specific name, the term, "our Grandfather," is applied ceremonially to fire. Rocks are also known as "our Grandfathers." Water is regarded as a powerful spiritual force and is known as "our Mother."

757 Some cases of illness can be cured in one treatment while in others it is necessary to hold several meetings in the sweat lodge. The latter is known by a term meaning "temporary sweating." New stones are secured for each treatment. It is considered advisable to let one or more days elapse between treatments, as determined by the physical condition of the patient. The latter is occasionally massaged by the doctor, who first warms his hands upon a hot stone before rubbing the affected area. Often it is necessary also for the healer to [755] blow hot or cold air upon the patient. For the first the shaman's breath is warmed by means of a hot drink. In Delaware terminology this is known as "warm breath." In case of fever or exhaustion the "cooling breath" is used. One doctor had so much supernatural power in this respect that his breath would cause a swelling wherever it struck the body. It was therefore necessary for him to exercise great care in this type of treatment to avoid bringing undue discomfort to the patient.

795 515 Following the ritual performance in one of the Delaware peyote cults, it is customary at the present time for the participants, both men and women, to go into the sweat house (Petrullo, 1934, p. 95). This usually occurs before sunrise. The sweat house for this assemblage accommodates about twenty persons. The equipment is precisely the same as for the performance previously described, but there is no ritual connected with this performance. Men and women enter together and drink hot water to induce perspiration. In case of nausea, they chew "Osage tobacco" (wild sage) and swallow the juice. This plant, according to my informant, has a very strong taste together with astringent qualities. The sweating period is followed by a plunge.[81]

[81] This is comparable to the semi-social aspect of the rite as described by Heckewelder, *op. cit.*, pp. 225-226. "These sweat ovens are generally at some distance from an Indian village where wood and water are always at hand. The best order is preserved at those places. The women have their separate oven in a different direction from that of the men, and are subjected to the same rules. The men generally sweat themselves once and sometimes twice a week; the women have no fixed day for this exercise, nor do they use it as often as the men." He also states: ". . . A cryer goes his rounds calling *pimook*, 'go to sweat.' Everyone brings his small kettle which is filled for him with the potion which at the same time serves him as a medicine, promotes profuse perspiration, quenches his thirst."

9: Kinietz E-4, 5 (1938) 1946
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535 Social dances not restricted to Delaware are held whenever a person who can afford to play host feels the urge to do so.
796 Gatherings with a religious motive may be said to have practically ceased. The Doll Dance which was a family responsibility has not been held since 1929. The Big House Ceremony has not been held since 1924, and since the ceremonial structure has been demolished, there is dim possibility that it will be revived. There are still a score or so who have participated in the Big House, but some of them will make no move toward revival. The hereditary leader of the Wolf clan in the Big House, who is probably the staunchest adherent of the ceremony, is now a leader
●[795] of a peyote group in which several tribes are represented. The most tangible evidence of a community spirit still extant among
[764] the Delaware is the use of a Delaware cemetery.

11:Newcomb . E-5 (1952) 1956 NM7 Delaware NM7

# The Peyote Cult of the Delaware Indians

*by* WILLIAM W. NEWCOMB, JR.

*Texas Memorial Museum*

Peyote (*Lophophora williamsii*) is a spineless, carrot-shaped, grayish-green cactus, which in this country grows primarily in the lower Rio Grande Valley. When eaten, either green, dried, or drunk as tea, peyote has the property of heightening or sharpening the perception of colors, forms, and sounds, or inducing visual and/or auditory hallucinations. The extent to which a person has or does not have hallucinations depends upon his physical and psychological state, the amount and type of peyote ingested, and perhaps other factors. Peyote is not a narcotic in that "It does not excite, stupefy, or produce muscular incoordination; there is no hangover; and the habitual user does not develop any increased tolerance or dependence" (La Barre, *et al.*, 1951: 582).

A knowledge of the properties of peyote and its utilization in religious ceremonies antedates recorded history in Mexico. It was not until late in the nineteenth century, however, that knowledge and a new ceremonial use of peyote developed and spread widely among the demoralized reservation Indians of the United States. The peyote cult was attractive to many of these Indians because it could easily replace outmoded or discarded religious rites, and because it was a continuing, if mild, rejection of elements of the dominant civilization. The new cult diffused to the Delaware Indians of northeastern Oklahoma about 1885, through the agency of John Wilson, a Caddo-Delaware from Anadarko in western Oklahoma (Petrullo, 1934: 83; La Barre, 1938: 109–123). This man had become a peyotist about 1880, and in subsequent years he converted many Delawares and other Indians in Oklahoma. John Wilson's version of peyotism, termed Big Moon or Moonhead, is today the most popular form of the cult among the main body of Delawares in northeastern Oklahoma. A less Christianized and less all-embracing religious cult called Little Moon was introduced somewhat later and has never attracted as many followers. I was unable to attend a Little Moon meeting; what follows pertains only to the Big Moon ceremony.

11:Newcomb E-5 (1952)1956 NM7 Delaware NM7



My purposes in this article are to describe a fairly typical peyote meeting of the Delawares which I attended in the summer of 1952, and to discuss the changes which have occurred in this cult since 1930 when Petrullo made his study of Delaware peyotism (Petrullo, 1934).

## THE BIG MOON PEYOTE CEREMONY

The Big Moon ceremonies of the Delawares are normally held in canvas covered tepees, generally in the cooler months of the year, but occasionally in hot weather. The reason for their seasonal nature is said to be in the interests of comfort; a tepee with a fire burning in it on a hot Oklahoma night is almost unbearable. Big Moon ceremonies are held on Saturday nights and last until Sunday noon. The peyote meeting I am about to describe was held on the farm of a Delaware, about ten miles east of the small town of Dewey, Washington County, Oklahoma. A tepee, about twenty feet in diameter, had been erected a few steps from the back door of the farm house. A bale of hay had been scattered about near the inside walls of the tepee; tarpaulins and quilts had then been spread over the hay, upon which the participants were to sit. In the center of the tepee was an oval depression, or fireplace, excavated to a depth of about six inches (Fig. 1). Extending from the fireplace were twelve lines or rays, made by scoring the hard ground to a depth of about half an inch. Within the fireplace, also scored in the earth, was a cross and at the intersection of its arms a heart-shaped figure. The fire, which was built over this heart, was made of twelve sticks interlaced in a V-shaped pattern with the open end towards the tepee entrance.

Just east of the fire, and lying along the long axis of the cross, was a stick of soft wood. One end was kept smoldering during the ceremony and was used to light corn husk-Bull Durham cigarettes. At the east end of the fireplace was a raised circular mound of hard packed earth. On the center of this mound, symbolic of the Sun, another heart had been scratched. On the opposite, or west side of the fireplace was the altar. This was an oblong, slightly raised, earthen area, on which was placed the ritual paraphernalia. In its center on a beaded cloth was a large, green peyote, or "Father Peyote." Just behind it a feathered and beaded peyote staff had been thrust into the ground. On the altar to the south of these objects was a glass bowl of green peyote, a kettle of peyote tea, and a leather bag of dried peyote buttons. To the north of "Father Peyote" on the altar was the drum used to accompany the singers (an old fashioned cast iron kettle, partly water-filled, and covered with a tightly drawn, wet, buckskin cover), and a bunch of sage.

11:Newcomb E-5 (1952) 1956 NM7 Delaware NM7



sage. The fireplace and the altar had been made many years previously, showing much use by being smooth and hard packed.

While the man who was to tend the fire and guard the door (fire-chief) and several helpers were arranging the tepee, several women were preparing peyote in the farmhouse kitchen. Peyote tea was made by chopping up dried peyote buttons and dropping them in boiling water. After steeping for a few minutes the tea was strained. Green peyote was prepared by peeling off the leathery skin, only the tops being left intact. A little before ten o'clock the fire-chief lit the fire in the tepee with flint and steel. As soon as he came out of the tepee the leader (or road-chief) entered, followed by the drum-chief, the fourteen other participants, and finally the fire-chief. This meeting was somewhat atypical in the small number of participants; attendance usually averaged about twenty-five. After everyone was seated the drum-chief, a Sioux from the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota, announced that several people had prayers and announcements to make. The road-chief, a Winnebago, then prayed in his own language. As translated next day, this prayer welcomed the participants and asked for divine assistance in the conduct of the meeting. This meeting had been initiated by a Delaware woman who was ill (No. 14 in Fig. 1), and she stood up and thanked everyone for coming and assisting her in regaining her health. Another Delaware (No. 3 in Fig. 1) then said a few words, principally to the effect that the "Native American Church" was not "idolatry" and that he was glad to welcome a white couple (the writer and his wife) to a meeting "to see what it really was like."

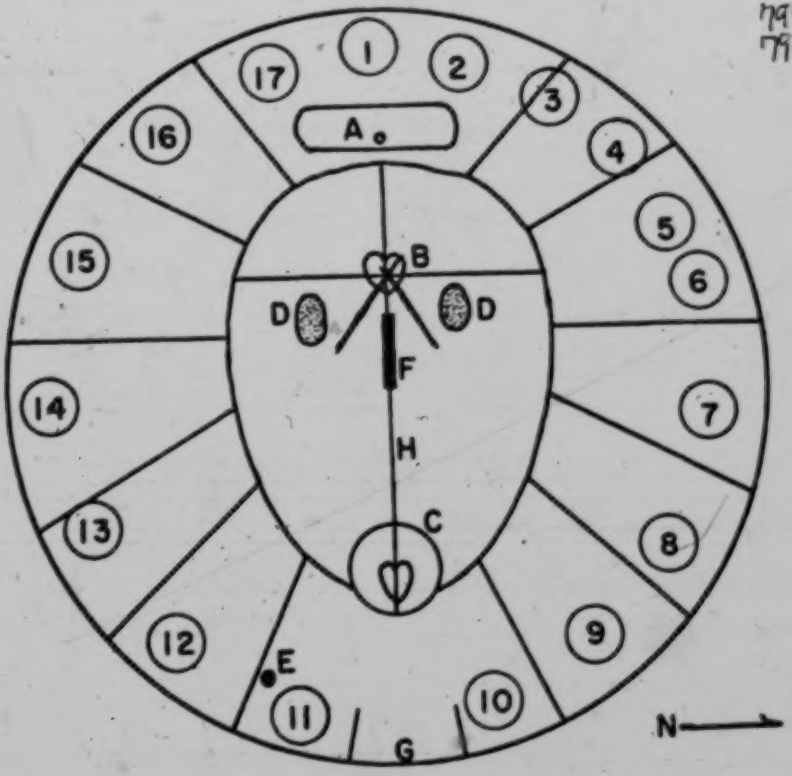
The road-chief then prayed again in Winnebago. When this prayer was concluded, he passed the peyote staff and a bunch of sage to the man on his left, who passed it on in a clockwise direction until it had

[text continues on p. 206]

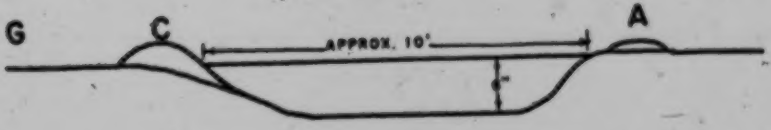
(Explanation of Figure 1)

A. Altar
B. Fire. To some peyotists the heart represents the soul of the Fire Spirits.
C. Sun Mound. The heart symbolizes the soul of the Sun.
D. Ash Piles. Petrullo noted that in some versions of the rite these symbolize the lungs of Christ. I could not confirm this.
E. Water bucket and dipper.
F. Smoldering stick used to light cigarettes.
G. Tepee entrance.
H. Cross. Long axis symbolizes peyote road.
1. Road-chief, Winnebago
2. Delaware man
3. Delaware man
4. Shawnee man
5. Shawnee woman (4's wife)
6. Delaware man
7. Ego
8. Ego's wife
9. Sioux man
10. Sioux woman (9's wife)
11. Fire-chief, Delaware
12. Delaware man
13. Delaware man
14. Delaware sponsor
15. Winnebago woman (16's wife)
16. Winnebago man
17. Drum-chief, Sioux

Figure 1




TOP VIEW




ELEVATION

11:Newcomb E-5 (1952) 1956 NM7 Delaware NM7



made a full circuit of the tepee. Many of the participants pressed the sage lightly to various parts of their bodies before passing it along. The road-chief then passed corn husks and Bull Durham tobacco in the same direction, everyone rolling a cigarette. These cigarettes were lit from the smoldering stick which was kept in readiness to the east of the fire. After the cigarettes had been smoked in silence, they were collected by the fire-chief. The butts were placed on the altar. Peyote was then passed in the same clockwise fashion; the road-chief directed that four buttons be taken, either two dried and two green, or four of a kind. Peyote tea was also passed, some individuals smearing their body, face, and hair with the tea, as well as drinking it.

When the peyote had completed the clockwise circuit, and as the participants were going through the ordeal of eating it, the road-chief prayed. He then began the opening song, holding a gourd rattle in his right hand and the peyote staff in his left, the drum-chief accompanying him on the drum. After four songs were sung the road-chief passed the staff and gourd rattle to the man on his left, accepted the drum from the drum-chief, and drummed for the man on his left, who sang four songs. After each set of four songs, the gourd rattle and staff were passed in a clockwise direction to the next man who sang a set of four songs, the previous singer becoming the drummer. The singing and drum accompaniment continued until midnight. Between sets of songs some individuals asked for peyote and others asked for water. The water was kept by the fire-chief's side in an ordinary bucket. Occasionally someone would leave the tepee, first getting permission from the road-chief. On re-entering, which was only permissible between sets of songs, the fire-chief cleansed and purified these people by brushing them from the head and shoulders down the arms to the fingers with an eagle feather fan. They then went around the north side of the fire to the altar, where they touched "Father Peyote," and the road-chief brushed them in a similar manner with another eagle feather fan. Then they returned to their places.

About midnight the fire-chief raked the ashes from the fire for the first time. He did this by moving the burning sticks eastward, taking a special peeled stick about six feet long and smoothing out the embers. After they were smoothed, another stick, somewhat longer than the first, was used to divide the ashes along the long axis of the cross, the ashes being formed into two neat piles on either side of the fire. After this was accomplished the fire was returned to its original position, built up, and the whole depression was swept from west to east

11:Newcomb E-5 (1952)1956 NM7 Delaware NM7



with an ordinary kitchen broom. After midnight the ashes were removed from the fire whenever a considerable quantity had accumulated.

The road-chief prayed, peyote was passed, and the songs began again. The throb of the drum and the songs were interrupted only occasionally; someone would ask for peyote, a person would mumble, and once one of the Winnebagos (No. 16, Fig. 1) asked the road-chief for permission to attempt a cure of his wife's swollen feet. This request was granted. The Winnebago walked around the fireplace and altar in a clockwise direction and cedar needles were thrown on the fire. He "caught" the smoke in a feather and dipped it into a cup of water which he had in readiness. He then brushed the feather over the woman's legs, concentrating on her feet. He drew a faintly glowing ember from the fire, took the ash into his mouth, and spit the ash into the ash pile nearest him. He then vigorously sucked the patient's feet.

Also early in the morning the Delaware sponsor asked the road-chief if she could pray for herself and her family. He assented. Standing next to the altar, she smoked a corn husk cigarette and, with tears streaming down her cheeks, related first in English and then in Delaware the story of her illness, her unhappiness, and her desire for the good health of her family. A little later a woman (No. 10 in Fig. 1) asked if she might be allowed to sing. Permission being given, she sang the customary four songs, her husband drumming for her.

At dawn the road-chief announced that the drum was going around for the last time. Following this last round the sponsor, her husband and young daughter (who had awakened and come into the tepee) stood up. The road-chief cast cedar needles upon the fire and brushed the entire bodies of the family with his eagle feather fan in the customary way. He then prayed. After they had resumed their seats the road-chief prayed again, following which candy and crackers were passed. The meeting was closed by the assemblage reciting the Lord's Prayer. The fire-chief rose and went around the tepee in the clockwise direction shaking everyone's hand and congratulating them on a successful meeting. The person on his left followed him in a like manner, and so on until everybody had shaken hands with everyone else and the tepee was emptied. Coffee was made and the participants relaxed in the yard and talked until the noon meal, after which the group dispersed.

It is difficult, perhaps impossible, to convey the attitude of peyotists and the atmosphere of a peyote meeting by means of a description of what happens during the course of the night. Perhaps the general

11:Newcomb E-5 (1952) 1956 NM7 Delaware NM7



attitude is best summed up as one of intense emotion and reverence. It could hardly be otherwise, since any individual may come face to face with supernatural powers during the course of the ceremony. Even if he does not, he has come to the ceremony in the sincere belief that he can and will get help in solving the most serious of life's problems. This precludes a profane attitude. I can only echo Petrullo (1934: 88) who said that the atmosphere of the ceremony was ". . . accompanied by the deepest feeling of reverence and awe and peace that it has been my lot to have witnessed either among primitive people or Christian groups engaged in worshipping their God."

Peyote is of course the focal point of the peyote meeting, but peyote itself is not worshipped. Informants stress this again and again, probably because they have so frequently been attacked by Whites and Christian Indians on this point. Peyote is both a symbol of the supernatural forces being worshipped and a sacrament. For the Delaware peyotist it is a means of establishing contact with the supernatural world and of securing a personally satisfactory working relationship with the spirit forces. While Peyote is the most important supernatural force present, it is not the only one. The spiritual forces of Sun, Moon, Fire, and others are there. Their importance and even their existence depends upon individual interpretation (Fig. 1).

The outward emphasis of Delaware peyote meetings is upon curing. The stated purpose of the meeting I have described was to assist in the cure of the sponsor, and there was a shamanistic curing rite performed during the course of the evening. It should also be pointed out that many peyotists are eager to relate how peyote has cured them of various diseases. It would be a mistake, however, to regard Big Moon peyotism as merely a curing rite, or even to think of it as primarily so. Peyote is regarded as a spirit force through which men can approach the omnipotent supernatural power or powers. Informants sometimes equate peyote with Jesus and say that White men use the "Jesus road to God" while the "Indian takes the Peyote Road."

### BIG MOON PEYOTISM—THEN AND NOW

Unfortunately Petrullo did not attend a Big Moon meeting with the Delawares near Dewey, but did participate in a Big Moon meeting of the Delawares at Anadarko. Normally there are many minor divergencies between meetings and tepee arrangements because there is no priesthood or dogmatic creed. As Petrullo (1934: 31) said, "A religion that insists that each individual can learn its doctrines only through personal experience with its gods must necessarily exist in a variable

11:Newcomb E-5 (1952)1956 NM7 Delaware NM7



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form." Despite the differences in locale and in the inherent variability of the cult, there is a surprising correspondence between the Big Moon meeting of 1930 in Anadarko and the one held in 1952 near Dewey. The similarity between the arrangement of the tepee I have described and the eight variants of the Big Moon altar and tepee which Petrullo diagrams is striking; the same is true of the conduct of the meetings. The principal differences between the meetings are presented in Table I (Petrullo, 1934: 87–95). The differences are minor; for the most part they are well within the range of variation of the cult, and of course in most respects the meetings are similar or identical. The principal change seems to be that women are allowed a much greater part in the

[184]

[562]

TABLE I

Differences in Big Moon Peyotism
1930 and 1952.

| 1930—Anadarko | 1952—Dewey |
|---|---|
| 1. Quiet period in afternoon prior to ceremony. | 1. Participants gather just before ceremony. |
| 2. Road-chief seated people; women on south. | 2. Sit where you like. Women seated on north and south. |
| 3. Oil lamp near altar. | 3. No light other than fire. |
| 4. Personal paraphernalia permitted after midnight. | 4. No personal paraphernalia in evidence at any time. |
| 5. Crucifix on altar. | 5. No crucifix. |
| 6. Only road-chief smoked Indian tobacco cigarette to open meeting. | 6. Everybody smokes corn husk-Bull Durham cigarette. |
| 7. Women given only the peyote tea. | 7. Women eat green or dried peyote; men drink tea. |
| 8. "Fanning" with eagle-feather fan after sets of songs. | 8. Absent. |
| 9. Drum-chief sang after road-chiefs' opening song. | 9. Drum-chief is last to sing; clockwise circuit followed without exception. |
| 10. Women did not sing. | 10. Woman sang, but permission had to be given by road-chief. |
| 11. No midnight intermission. | 11. Midnight intermission. |
| 12. No shamanistic curing (possibly permitted). | 12. Winnebago performed cure on wife. |
| 13. At dawn road-chief sang "morning water-song"; each person drank water. | 13. Negative. |
| 14. Filed outside, washed faces, faced rising sun, returned to tepee, etc. | 14. Meeting closed with Lord's Prayer. |
| 15. No breakfast. | 15. Breakfast. |
| 16. Candy, etc., distributed at noon meal. | 16. Candy passed before leaving tepee. |

11:Newcomb E-5 (1952) 1956 NM7 Delaware NM7



meeting than they were two decades ago. In this respect peyotists seem to be merely following the general trend of White society.

Big Moon peyotism diffused to the Delawares as a substitute for an outmoded religious system, but its replacement of the traditional religion has been slow and incomplete. The peyote cult is still regarded by many Delawares as a somewhat inferior replacement for the traditional ceremonies. What is more, during World War II the Big House Ceremony, the major, annual religious rite of the Delawares, was revived and held three times, albeit in abbreviated form. The Delawares would continue the old rites today, but because of expense, cultural decay, and other factors, they have been finally abandoned. It is doubtful whether the traditional rites, even if abbreviated and vestigial, can ever again be held. Petrullo (1934: 175) underestimated their strength when he said more than two decades ago that they were "No longer able to perform the ancient ceremonies. . . ." Neither Petrullo nor I found out what proportion of the Delawares were peyotists, Christians, or adherents to the old religion, so that changes in religious affiliation are largely a matter of conjecture. It is known, however, that many of the proponents of the abandoned religion have become peyotists, but at least a few have become Christians. In short, the peyote cult has never completely replaced the traditional religion, nor has it gained universal approval. The most that can be said by way of comparison is that the Big Moon cult was a covert, lively, and popular one in the thirties; it remains so today.

Probably the greatest changes which have occurred in Delaware Big Moon peyotism within the past twenty-five years have been in the reasons why people are drawn to it. There is not space here to discuss this topic in detail, but it should be pointed out that the peyote cult originally diffused to the Delawares, and was still attractive to them in the early thirties because:

> . . it teaches acceptance of the new world, and makes possible an attitude of resignation in the face of the probable disappearance of the Indian groups as distinct peoples, culturally and racially, by insisting on the necessity of emancipation from mundane aspirations. . . . [The peyote cult] is the natural but final recourse of a subjugated people who fully realize the inadequacy of their material means to restore their former world-state (Petrullo, 1934: 1).

The appeal of modern peyotism is, at least in part, of a different nature. Briefly, the Delawares are no longer a cohesive cultural or social entity; they are geographically scattered and socially atomized. There is no tribal activity which draws them together as Delawares, and every year there are fewer distinctive customs which set them apart from

11:Newcomb E-5 (1952)1956 NM7 Delaware NM7



other people. Yet the individual Delaware is not an ordinary American; he is thought of by the public as an Indian, and he thinks of himself as an Indian. One way in which he can express this Indianness and feel that he is a part of a larger group is to be a peyotist. The peyote cult gives him an opportunity to participate in ceremonies with others who occupy a similar position in American life, and it provides him with an opportunity to express his Indian cultural heritage, however slight it may be. In the meeting just described there were Winnebagos, Sioux, and Shawnees, in addition to the Delawares. This is normal for a Delaware peyote meeting; in fact, their meetings always include members of other tribes. They also frequently attend meetings with the Osage, Quapaw, and others. In short, in earlier times the Delaware Big Moon peyote cult was a religious expression of assimilation and an attempt to preserve something from the shattered cultural past. Today it functions more as a religious symbol of the Indian minority and a rallying point for what has been termed a Pan-Indian society (Newcomb, 1955).

## SUMMARY

The arrangement of the tepee and the conduct of Delaware Big Moon peyote meetings has remained essentially constant since 1930. Over this span of time the Big Moon cult has not succeeded in completely replacing the traditional religion, nor has it apparently become any more popular. Probably the greatest changes have occurred in the reasons for the cults' appeal to the Delawares. The modern attractions of the peyote cult are particularly strong in its aspects as an *Indian* ceremony and as a rallying point for Pan-Indianism, rather than in the solace it offers to "a subjugated people."

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———, McAllester, D. P., Slotkin, J. S., Stewart, O. C., Tax, Sol, 1951—Statement on peyote, *Science*, 114 (2970): 582–583.

Newcomb, Jr., William W., 1955—A note on Cherokee-Delaware Pan-Indianism, *American Anthropologist*, 57: 1041–1045.

Petrullo, Vincenzo, 1934—*The diabolic root*. University of Pennsylvania Press. The University Museum. Philadelphia.

Small buttons and
531 brooches ranging from ½ to ¾ of an inch
[291] in diameter were used in decorating the capes on women's over-waists. These capes were made to fall over the shoulders covering the upper arm. The silver buttons and brooches were arranged in various patterns sometimes covering the entire cape or collar. Several very old specimens are now extant in private and museum collections.

531 The use of Peyote[1] for ceremonial and
●795 medicinal purposes was introduced among
[298 the Delawares about 1880. With the
177] growth of this religious creed a new

[P.26, A]

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sybmolism in art motifs has developed among its followers. Ceremonial wands, prayer staffs and feather fans as well as headbands, arm bands, belts and garters bear geometric figures done in beads (woven or sewed on) symbolizing the Peyote or cactus "button," mind, sky, water, fire and sun's rays. (Typical Peyote designs in plate 1.)

[278] (1) A small species of cactus (**Lophophora Williamsii**) used for ceremonial and religious purposes by certain groups in all tribes between the Rocky Mountains and the Gulf of Mexico, from the Arkansas River southward almost to the City of Mexico. (Bureau of American Ethnology, Bull. 30, **Handbook of American Indians**, Washington, 1910.)

[P. 26, B]

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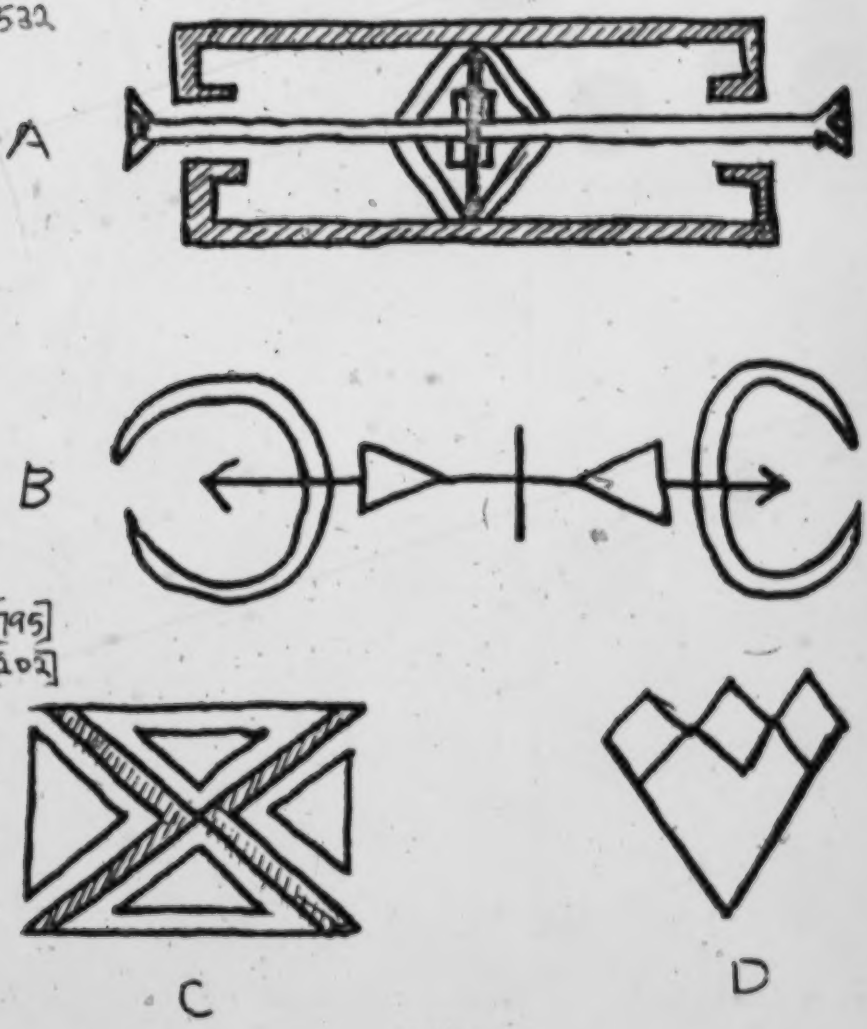


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[202]

PLATE 2

A, B—Old designs in woven beadwork representing "clasps."
C—Peyote ceremony design representing "to be in good associations."
D—Meaning "Safe now, danger is past."

[P.28]

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute
Delaware NM7 ●
Winnebago NP12
Comanche NO6



C
D
W
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● 795

## APPENDIX II. PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST

The distribution list in this section was first devised upon the basis of experience with Ute peyotism and a study of published literature on the peyote cult generally.[*] The published accounts of the cult, however, did not contain the detailed information necessary to answer all the points raised, and so a blank copy of the list and a request to fill it out were sent to several ethnographers known to have attended peyote meetings. The response was most gratifying, time and knowledge being given freely. The locations of the tribes represented in the element list are indicated on map 2.

### SYMBOLS USED IN THE ELEMENT LIST

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| + | Element present | ( ) | Exactness of data doubtful |
| — | Element absent | B | Recent development |
| Blank | Information lacking | * | Indicates that a note to the element is appended at the end of the list |

### SOURCES AND COLUMN ABBREVIATIONS

The sources for the data in both the list and the notes to the list, and the abbreviations at the heads of columns, are as follows:

13 T: Composite picture of cult of thirteen tribes visited by La Barre and Schultes, mostly in Oklahoma (Kickapoo, Kiowa, Quapaw, Shawnee, Wichita, Caddo, Comanche, Delaware, Osage, Oto, Pawnee, Ponca, Southern Cheyenne). Richard Evans Schultes, Peyote and Plants used in the Peyote Ceremony, HU-BML 4:127–152, 1937, with additions made on list by La Barre, 1938.

000 K-A: Kiowa-Apache. List filled in and notes supplied by J. Gilbert McAllister from information obtained during ethnographic field work performed 1933–1934 (eleven months) under the sponsorship of the University of Chicago.

Kio: Kiowa. List filled in and notes supplied by Weston La Barre. When returning the list La Barre wrote, "I believe that in peyotism tribal affiliation in this inter-tribal religion is far less important than leadership, i.e., what the particular leader's 'way' is, and from what leader he got his meeting." La Barre did field work in Oklahoma under the auspices of the Laboratory of Anthropology (1935), Yale University, and the American Museum of Natural History.

C
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Com: Comanche in Oklahoma. List filled in and notes supplied by E. Adamson Hoebel.

Kic: Kickapoo in the vicinity of McLoud, Oklahoma. List filled in and notes supplied by John A. Noon, who attended a meeting during the summer of 1932. The Kickapoo leaders recognized that they "followed the Kiowa-Comanche 'way'."

Ab S: Absentee Shawnee of central Oklahoma. List filled in and notes supplied by Erminie W. Voegelin. Meeting attended in 1933. Voegelin reports three forms of the cult among the Absentee: (1) The Kiowa-Comanche form (the form which my list records); said to have been introduced about 1900 from the Kickapoo, who learned it from the Comanche; is the most popular form. (2) Caddo-Delaware variant of the "Wilson way," conducted by Ernest Spybuck. (3) Yuchi "way," conducted by Panther; considered by Voegelin's informants to be distinct from the Kiowa-Comanche version, yet probably only slightly variant. Membership in these forms of the cult does not interfere with participation in older Shawnee religious beliefs and ceremonies. The "Cherokee" or "Loyal" Shawnee in northeastern Oklahoma, however, take peyote "according to the Bible way . . . like those Iowaya," which is La Barre's Oto "Christianized" version, and this does teach complete withdrawal from older native ceremonies.

D
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128
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De 1: Kiowa-Comanche type cult among the Delaware. List filled in by James C. Webber (a Delaware informant recommended by Dr. Frank Speck) and supplemented by Petrullo's published account, also principally from Webber.

De 2: "Wilson way" among the Delaware (La Barre's Caddo-Delaware). Abstracted from Petrullo's book, with additional notes supplied by James C. Webber. The list does not adequately bring out the degree of divergence which the cult has attained, which could only be done by devising a list based on the "Wilson way." The altar is greatly changed from the Kiowa-Comanche prototype and at times becomes extremely elaborate (see Petrullo, pls. 3–6).

W
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Win: Winnebago of Nebraska. This is apparently a variant of the "Wilson way," although Alexis A. Praus, who filled in the list and supplied the notes, did not designate it as such. Praus attended

[*] Data for the Ute and Washo–Northern Paiute lists obtained in the field, and additional data on the cults of the Tarahumara, Tepehuan, Lipan Apache, Mescalero Apache, Kiowa, Oto, Delaware, Omaha, Iowa, Arapaho, Winnebago, and Taos from published literature, are part of my Ute Peyotism which has been accepted for publication by Anthropos.

Crow NR 20
Delaware NM7 ●
Winnebago NP12

Stewart: Washo-Northern Paiute Peyotism



PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST

| Element | Occurrence | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | LTT | K-J | Kio | Cum | Kit | Sav | Dri | Dri | Wh | Nav | O-I | O-I | Was | Pio | Ow | Ft-W | Tmc | | | |
| 1. Staff of authority of leader | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | |
| 2. "Cane" 3-5 feet long | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | | | |
| 3. Tufts of hair at top | + | •+ | + | + | + | •+ | •+ | | •– | + | + | •+ | + | + | – | – | + | | | |
| 4. *Artemisia* tied near top or held along with cane | + | + | + | + | – | •+ | – | + | – | + | + | •+ | •+ | + | + | + | + | | | |
| 5. Passed around | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | | | |
| 6. Always passed between drum and altar | + | (+) | + | | (–) | + | | | | | | (+) | (+) | + | + | + | + | | | |
| 7. Person holding staff leads singing | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | |
| 8. Rattle of leader | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | |
| 9. Gourd | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | |
| 10. Decorated | + | + | •+ | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | |
| 11. Handle beaded | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | |
| 12. Tufts of hair on top | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | •+ | + | | | |
| 13. Rattle passed around | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | | | |
| 14. Person singing shakes rattle | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | |
| 15. Individual rattle also used | + | + | + | + | – | – | + | + | – | – | – | + | + | + | – | + | + | | | |
| 16. Only after midnight | + | | + | + | – | – | + | •– | – | – | – | + | •+ | + | – | + | + | | | |
| 17. To accompany singer holding staff | | | + | + | – | – | + | + | – | – | – | + | •+ | + | – | + | + | | | |
| 18. Fan of leader (eagle tail feathers) | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | – | + | + | | | |
| 19. Each feather tied separately | + | + | + | + | (–) | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | |
| 20. Binding decorated | | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | |
| 21. Passed around | + | | – | + | (–) | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | |
| 22. Held with staff while singing | + | | •+ | + | + | – | + | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | |
| 23. Individual fans also used | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | |
| 24. Only after midnight | + | | + | – | (+) | – | + | •– | + | + | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | |
| 25. All fans used to draw smoke over head, body | + | + | (+) | + | + | + | + | + | – | – | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | | | |
| 26. Eagle-wingbone whistle of leader | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •– | – | – | + | + | + | + | – | – | + | | | |
| 27. Used at special midnight ritual | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | – | – | + | + | + | + | •+ | – | + | | | |
| 28. At special morning ritual | + | + | + | + | (+) | + | | – | – | – | + | + | + | + | •+ | – | + | | | |
| 29. Placed near altar in front of leader | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | – | – | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | | | |
| 30. Only leader uses whistle | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | – | – | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | | | |

For Notes to Element List see p. 114.

(Continued on next page)

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14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute
Comanche No6
Delaware NM7 ●
C
D
171
● 795
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PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Continued*)

| Element | Occurrence | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Tsm. | Ara. | Cha. | Cah. | Cre. | Dak. | Ess. | Fox. | Hid. | Kio. | Kio. | Mes. | Oka. | Pai. | Pon. | Sar. | Sha. | Ute. | Wic. | Win. | Wis. | Wyo. | Yak. | Yan. | Yur. |
| 31. Paraphernalia satchel | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 32. Cloth upon which to place paraphernalia | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 33. Drum of leader (or chief drummer) | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 34. Water drum | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 35. Iron kettle | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 36. Pottery jar | + | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 37. Charcoal in water | + | + | + | + | + | + | (-) | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 38. Head of deerskin | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 39. Skin tied on before meeting | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 40. 7 stones or sticks used in tie | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 41. 7 stones represent days | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 42. Rope forms star on bottom of drum | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 43. Star significant | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 44. Skin removed at end of meeting | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 45. Only one drum used | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 46. Drumstick of leader | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 47. Individual drumsticks also used | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 48. Only after midnight | + | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 49. Drum and drumstick passed around | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 50. Separate drummer accompanies singer | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 51. Drummer usually at right of singer | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 52. Only men drum | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 53. Bag of cedar (juniper) leaves of leader | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 54. Cedar sprinkled on fire | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 55. Usually by cedarman | + | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 56. Only one bag of cedar used | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 57. Tobacco furnished by leader | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 58. Rolled in maize husks | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 59. In oak leaves | + | | | + | | | (+) | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 60. In paper | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute
Comanche N06
Delaware NM7 ●



| Element | Occurrence | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | TU | PA | Ka | Co | Ha | SAV | Del | Dra | Wa | Oto | LO | CO | WRA | Gu | Ch | Ar | Tew | | | | |
| 61. Only leader's tobacco used | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | + | – | + | + | + | + | + | (+) | + | + | | | | |
| 62. Tobacco lacking from ritual | •(+) | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | – | – | – | – | •+ | – | – | | | | | |
| 63. Peyote furnished by leader | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •– | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | | | | |
| 64. "Chief peyote," an extra large "button" | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | | | | |
| •65. Decorated with white lines | – | – | – | | (–) | | – | – | – | – | – | – | •– | – | – | – | | | | | |
| 66. Placed on altar in front of leader | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | | |
| 67. Is not eaten | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | | | | |
| 68. *Artemisia* leaves under "chief peyote" | + | + | + | + | (–) | + | + | | | + | + | + | + | + | | | | | | | |
| 69. Form cross | + | •+ | (+) | + | | + | + | | | + | + | + | •+ | + | | | | | | | |
| 70. Peyote for eating passed around | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •– | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | | |
| 71. Only leader's used until after midnight | | •+ | + | | (+) | •– | + | •+ | – | | + | + | •– | + | •(+) | •– | | | | | |
| 72. Leader | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | | |
| 73. Called chief or peyote chief | + | + | •+ | + | (+) | •+ | •+ | •+ | | + | + | + | •+ | + | • | + | | | | | |
| 74. Sits west of altar or shrine or fire | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | | | |
| 75. Has complete charge of meeting | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | | | |
| 76. Assistants | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | – | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | + | | | | |
| 77. 2 assistants | | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | – | | | | | |
| 78. 3 assistants | + | – | + | + | + | – | – | – | + | + | – | – | + | – | – | + | + | | | | |
| 79. 4 or more assistants | | – | •– | – | – | + | + | •+ | – | + | – | + | – | + | – | – | | | | | |
| 80. Chief drummer | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | | |
| 81. Sits at leader's right | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •– | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | | | |
| 82. Drums for leader | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | | | |
| 83. Drums for each singer in turn | – | – | – | – | – | – | | •+ | •– | – | – | – | •+ | – | – | – | | | | | |
| 84. Cedarman or cedar chief | + | – | + | + | + | •+ | + | – | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | | | |
| 85. Sits at leader's left | + | – | + | + | + | + | + | – | •– | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | | | |
| 86. Sprinkles cedar leaves on fire | + | – | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | | | |
| 87. Offers prayers at specified times | + | – | + | – | (–) | + | + | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | | | |
| 88. Fire chief or fire tender | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | | | |
| 89. Sits at north side of entrance | + | •+ | + | + | + | | + | •+ | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | | | |
| 90. Starts fire before meeting | + | + | + | + | | + | + | | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | | | |

(Continued on next page)

C D 171 P45 no. 796 [E72]

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute
Comanche NO6
Crow NQ20
Delaware NM7
Winnebago NP12
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171
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T96
F783]
T78





| Element | Occurrence | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Tew | Tsa | Hop | Zun | Cha | Isl | Pic | Ara | Kia | Zia | Jem | Sia | Aco | Laguna | Isl | Sou | Tan | Hop | Zun | Cha | Isl |
| 91. Replenishes fire | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 92. Cleans up and arranges ashes | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 93. Conducts people in and out | + | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 94. All baths before attending meeting | + | + | + | – | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 95. Meeting place arranged (house, hogan, tipi) | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 96. In open | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 97. Entrance or opening toward east | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 98. Altar is (crescent) mound of earth | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 99. Concave side toward east | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 100. Line on top of moon | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 101. Fire east of leader's place | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 102. East of moon | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 103. Sticks placed to form right angle | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 104. Old methods used to start fire | | – | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 105. 4 sticks on fire | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 106. Special fire stick (poker) | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 107. Worshippers congregate outside | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 108. Indian dress, moccasins, etc., preferred | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 109. Meeting starts in evening | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 110. Leader prays before entering meeting | + | + | + | + | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 111. Order of entrance: chief first | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 112. Chief drummer second | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 113. Cedarman third | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 114. Men (before women and children) | | – | + | + | + | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 115. Women and children allowed | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 116. Fire chief last | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 117. Seating: leader west of altar or shrine | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 118. Men, either side, near leader | + | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 119. Women, either side, near entrance | | – | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 120. Separation of men and women | | – | – | + | (–) | – | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

Comanche ND6
Crow NQ10
Delaware NM7 ●
Winnebago NP2

Stewart: Wasko–Northern Paiute Peyotism



| Element | Occurrence | | |

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute
Comanche NO6
Delaware NM7



PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Continued*)

| Element | Occurrence | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | UT | K-A | Kio | Com | Kio | Ari | Do 1 | Do 2 | Wic | Ko C | Cr 1 | Cr 2 | Wic | Do | Com | Ara | Tan | | | |
| 151. 4 times | + | | + | – | | + | | | | – | ° – | + | + | + | | + | | | | |
| 152. Whistle placed near altar | + | | + | + | + | + | + | – | – | + | ° + | + | + | + | + | – | + | | | |
| 153. Leader starts singing, 4 songs | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | |
| 154. Sings fixed opening song | + | + | + | | | + | + | + | | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | |
| 155. Holds staff in front of him | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | |
| 156. Another beats drum | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | |
| 157. Chief drummer beats drum | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | |
| 158. Drum, rattle, etc., passed round clockwise | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | |
| 159. Each man sings 4 songs | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | |
| 160. Each man drums for 4 songs of man to his left | + | | + | + | | + | + | ° + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | |
| 161. Rule against women singing | + | ° – | + | + | (+) | + | + | + | – | + | + | ° – | + | – | ° + | + | + | | | |
| 162. Drumming, singing all night (except for midnight water call) | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | |
| 163. Midnight water call and recess | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | ° – | + | + | + | + | + | + | ° + | + | + | | | |
| 164. Leader recalls drum, staff, etc. | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | ° + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | |
| 165. Fire chief forms ashes into crescent | + | + | + | + | + | | ° + | ° – | ° + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | |
| 166. Fire replenished | + | + | + | + | + | | + | | + | + | + | (+) | (+) | + | + | + | + | | | |
| 167. 4 sticks added | | | | | | | – | | | | | | – | | | | | | | |
| 168. Altar and floor carefully cleaned by fire chief | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | |
| 169. Cedar sprinkled on fire | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | ° + | + | + | + | ° + | + | + | + | + | + | | | |
| 170. Whistle blown by leader | + | | + | – | + | + | – | – | – | – | + | + | + | + | | + | + | | | |
| 171. 4 times | + | | + | – | + | + | – | – | – | – | + | + | + | + | | + | + | | | |
| 172. Leader sings fixed water song | + | + | + | | | + | + | ° – | | | + | + | + | + | | + | + | | | |
| 173. Bucket of water brought in by fire chief | + | + | + | ° + | + | + | + | – | + | ° + | + | + | – | + | | + | + | | | |
| 174. By women | | – | – | ° + | ° – | – | – | – | – | ° + | – | – | – | | | | | | | |
| 175. Water bearer kneels east of bucket | + | | + | + | + | + | – | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | |
| 176. Cedarman prays, sprinkles cedar on fire | + | | + | + | + | + | – | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | |
| 177. Water bearer draws incense to water | + | | + | + | + | ° + | – | – | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | |
| 178. Water bearer prays, blesses water | + | | + | + | + | + | + | – | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | |
| 179. While smoking cigarette | + | | + | + | + | + | | – | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | |
| 180. Leader given butt of same cigarette, smokes, prays | + | | + | + | + | + | | – | – | + | ° + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | |

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute
Comanche NM6
Delaware NM7 ●



| Element | Occurrence | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Ute | Kiowa | Ute | Cheyenne | Kiowa | Arapaho | Ute | Pawnee | Ute | Cheyenne | Oto | Osage | Ponca | Omaha | Winnebago | Menominee | Fox | Potawatomi | Kickapoo | Shawnee | Delaware |
| 181. Water bearer spills water on ground | + | – | + | | + | + | + | – | – | | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 182. Bucket passed clockwise, all drink | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | ++ |
| 183. Devotees rub, sprinkle ("baptise") selves with water | + | – | + | + | – | – | – | – | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 184. "Chief peyote," paraphernalia sprinkled | + | – | | + | | | – | – | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 185. Water bearer takes water outside | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 186. Makes circuit of altar before removing water | + | | + | + | + | + | – | – | – | + | +°(+) | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 187. Drum, staff returned to place they occupied before midnight | + | | + | + | + | ° | – | – | °+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 188. After paraphernalia placed, leader goes outside | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | °– | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 189. Blows whistle to cardinal directions | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 190. Prays to cardinal directions | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 191. Leader incensed upon return | + | | + | | | + | + | – | – | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 192. Replaces whistle near moon | + | | + | + | + | + | + | – | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 193. After midnight individual fans, rattles, etc., used | + | | + | + | °+ | – | + | + | °+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | ++ |
| 194. All urged during meeting to eat as much peyote as possible | | °– | °+ | | + | + | + | + | | °(+) | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 195. Urged not to eat too much | | | °+ | – | | – | – | – | | – (+) | + | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 196. Individual prayers aloud, by men | + | + | °+ | + | + | – | + | °+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + |
| 197. By women | | | °+ | – | °+ | – | + | + | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 198. Suppliant first gets tobacco from leader | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | + | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | ++ |
| 199. Cigarette lighted with fire stick | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | + | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 200. 4 puffs of smoke blown toward altar at start | + | | + | + | + | – | + | + | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 201. Butt handed to leader | | | + | + | (–) | – | | °+ | – | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 202. To cedarman, who blows 4 puffs toward altar | | | + | – | (–) | – | | – | – | – | °– | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 203. To chief drummer, who blows 4 puffs toward altar | | | + | – | (–) | – | | – | – | – | – | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 204. Handed back to leader, who blows 4 puffs toward altar | | | + | – | (–) | – | | + | – | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 205. Prayer by individual followed by one by leader | | | °+ | + | (–) | – | – | + | – | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 206. No one leaves meeting while anyone is singing, praying, or eating peyote | + | + | °+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | °+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 207. Morning water call (similar procedure to midnight ritual) | + | + | + | + | (+) | + | + | °+ | °– | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 208. Water brought in | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |
| 209. By woman | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | °– | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | |

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14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute
Crow NQ10
Delaware NM7 ●
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111
● 245
796
[24]



PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Concluded*)

| Element | Occurrence | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | H-T | K-A | Kio | Com | Kio | S-P | Dri | Dri | Wis | O-N | O-I | C-O | Sta | Ho | Com | S-F | Tew | | | | | | | | |
| 210. Who blesses water | + | + | + | + | | + | + | ·– | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | | | | | | | | |
| 211. Woman makes circuit of altar before taking water outside | + | + | + | | (+) | + | | – | – | | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | | | | | | | | |
| 212. Woman returns immediately with food and water | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | ·– | ·– | + | ·+ | + | + | + | + | – | + | | | | | | | | |
| 213. "Peyote breakfast" | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | ·– | ·– | + | ·+ | + | – | + | + | – | + | | | | | | | | |
| 214. Lined up in front of door, in order (from fire toward door) | | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | | | | | | | | |
| 215. Order: water, maize, fruit, meat | | + | + | + | – | – | + | – | – | ·+ | + | + | – | + | ·+ | ·+ | + | | | | | | | | |
| 216. Water, rice, fruit, meat | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | ·– | – | – | – | – | ·+ | – | – | | | | | | | | |
| 217. Water, maize, fruit, candy | | – | – | – | – | ·+ | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | | | | | | | | |
| 218. Water, maize, meat, fruit | | – | – | – | + | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | – | – | | | | | | | | |
| 219. Parched maize in sweetened water | | + | | + | + | + | + | – | – | – | + | + | + | – | + | + | + | | | | | | | | |
| 220. Candy also included in the breakfast | + | – | + | – | + | ·+ | – | ·+ | – | – | ·+ | + | + | – | + | – | – | | | | | | | | |
| 221. Food blessed | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | – | + | – | + | + | + | + | – | + | | | | | | | | |
| 222. Wash before eating | | | – | – | – | – | | ·+ | – | – | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | | | | | | | | |
| 223. Paraphernalia put away after blessing | + | | + | + | + | + | | ·+ | ·+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | | | | | | | | |
| 224. Before eating | + | | + | – | | + | | ·+ | ·+ | – | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | | | | | | | | |
| 225. Drum untied | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | ·+ | ·+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | | | | | | | | |
| 226. Water from drum drunk | + | + | + | + | – | – | + | | – | ·– | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | | | | | | | | |
| 227. Water touched to body with stick, hands—"baptism" | + | + | + | + | – | – | + | + | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | | | | | | | | |
| 228. Any remaining poured on or between crescents | + | + | + | – | + | ·+ | | | ·+ | – | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | | | | | | | | |
| 229. Objects used to tie on drumhead touched to body | + | + | + | + | | – | + | + | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | | | | | | | | |
| 230. All parts of drum passed, handled | + | + | + | + | | – | + | + | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | | | | | | | | |
| 231. Leader's outfit taken out by fire chief | + | | + | | | + | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| 232. Food passed clockwise | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | | | | | | | | |
| 233. Replaced on floor between fire and door | | | ? | + | | + | | | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | | | | | | | | |
| 233a. Order before passing reversed | | | | + | | + | | | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | | | | | | | | |
| 234. Taken out by fire chief | + | + | ·+ | + | | + | | | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | | | | | | | | |
| 235. After food taken out, all go outside, about 9 A.M. | + | + | + | + | + | + | | ·– | – | + | + | + | + | + | + | – | + | | | | | | | | |
| 236. Sun greeted | + | | ·– | – | (–) | – | | ·+ | – | – | – | – | – | – | + | + | + | | | | | | | | |
| 237. Return to tipi to lounge, talk, smoke | + | + | ·+ | – | – | (–) | + | + | | – | + | + | + | – | + | + | + | | | | | | | | |
| 238. Tipi dismantled, altar destroyed following meeting | | ·– | ·+ | + | – | + | | | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | | | | | | |

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute
Crow NQ10
Delaware NM7 ●



| Element | Occurrence | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | UT | E-A | Eto | Com | Kio | Ats | Do 1 | Do 2 | Wis | Oto | Cr 1 | Cr 2 | Wic | Dis | Ose | W-P | Tsm | | | | |
| 239. Feast follows meeting | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | | | |
| 240. Aligned between leader and door starting at west: Bible | | − | − | − | − | •− | − | − | + | − | | | | − | | − | | | | | |
| 241. Staff, rattle, and feathers | + | + | + | + | | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | + | | | | |
| 242. Whistle | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | + | | | | |
| 243. "Chief-peyote" | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | | |
| 244. Crescent of earth | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | | |
| 245. Crescent of ash | + | + | + | + | + | − | + | | | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | | | |
| 246. Fire | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | | |
| 247. Fire stick | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | | | |
| 248. Water | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | | | |
| 249. Person blessing water | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | | | |
| 250. Peyote breakfast | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | − | − | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | | | |
| 251. Beliefs connected with peyotism: belief in a Great God (Great Spirit) | + | | + | − | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | | | • | + | + | + | | | | | |
| 252. Belief in spirit forces subservient to the Great God | + | | + | | (−) | + | + | + | + | | | | •+ | + | | | | | | | |
| 253. Peyote is a spirit force chosen to guide the Indians | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | | + | | + | + | + | + | | | | | | |
| 254. Peyote's function is medicinal | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | | | | |
| 255. Peyote's function is particularly ethical-religious | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + | | | + | (+) | | | | | | |
| 256. Peyote's doctrines can be understood only through peyote intoxication | + | + | + | + | + | (+) | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | | + | | | | | |
| 257. Ultimate goal of intoxication is enlightenment and physical betterment | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | + | + | | | | | |
| 258. Individual can be helped by concerted prayer | + | + | + | − | + | + | + | + | + | − | | + | + | + | | + | | | | | |
| 259. Individual must attain purity before approaching spirit forces | + | + | + | + | + | | + | + | + | + | | | | + | + | + | | | | | |
| 260. An important function of peyote meeting is to purify | + | + | + | + | (+) | •+ | + | + | + | + | | | | + | | • | | | | | |
| 261. Modifications permitted by new revelations | + | | + | | | | − | + | | | | | − | + | | + | | | | | |
| 262. Approach to spirit forces should be humble | + | + | •+ | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | | | + | + | | + | | | | | |
| 263. Concept of the Peyote road as ethical-religious | + | + | •+ | + | + | + | + | + | + | + | | | | + | | + | | | | | |
| 264. Identification of the Peyote road with the Creator's road | | + | •+ | − | | − | + | + | | + | | | | + | | + | | | | | |
| 265. Identification of the Peyote road with Jesus' road | | + | •+ | + | •+ | − | − | + | + | − | | | | • | | | | | | | |
| 265a. (See note) | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

C
D 171 945 ●
946 [671] [574] [276]

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute
Crow NQ10
Delaware NM7



## NOTES TO ELEMENT LIST

C D 1711 795 796

1. Cr 2: Straight stick of any kind or collapsible cane, beaded at joints (Voget).

2. Ab S: "The staff represents a walking cane" (Voegelin). Gos: Made of mountain mahogany by leader himself (Malouf).

3. K-A: Not necessarily (McAllister). Ab S: Deer's tail dyed red (Voegelin). De 1: Staff decorated with feathers, ribbon, and otter skins (Petrullo, 49). Win: Tufts of hair around two joints about a foot from each end of cane. An oval celloluid device 5 inches long with feathers attached around its edge was suspended from the upper joint. Staff was walking stick with crook (Praus). Cr 2: Horsehair among the Crow. Sometimes hair of different animals is used. "People wish for the same type of animal as the hair. It is a sort of wishbone." Crow prefer white horsehair to black. "The old-time Indians say white is the cleanest thing on earth; that is why they use that" (Voget).

C [237]

4. Ab S: Held by person giving the meeting, at opening of meeting only (Voegelin). Cr 2: Four pieces of sage used; held along with staff. Silvery wide-leafed variety of sage is employed (Voget). WRS: Four pieces of *Artemisia* are tied on (Shimkin).

5. Ab S: Bunch of sage passed around separately at beginning of meeting (Voegelin). WRS: Clockwise, "the same as the world" (Shimkin).

C [533]

9. Cr 2: Man who has his own rattle which suits the pitch of his voice holds leader's rattle in his left hand and rattles his own with his right hand. "Each man does as he wishes in worship." But note that individual rattles not employed until after midnight, apparently out of deference to position of leader. That would be impolite (Voget).

10. Kio: Decoration of gourd proper doubtful. But I have seen "Jesus talk" written on a Comanche gourd (La Barre). Ab S: Gourd itself is stained dark brown with walnut-bark (sic) dye; undecorated otherwise. But handle and projecting end are beaded, tasseled, etc. (Voegelin).

12. Gos: White horsehair at end of handle is not dyed (Malouf). W-P: Feathers also used.

D [533]

13. Cr 1: "Passed with cane" (Voget).

16. De 2: In "Wilson way" meeting members can rattle own rattles any time (Webber). Prohibition on using rattles other than ones used by road chief until midnight (Petrullo, 90, 158). WRS: After drum goes around once, individual rattles may be used (Shimkin).

18. Ab S: Eagle, chicken hawk, parrot, "any kind of bird." Leader did not have special fan that was passed around; each person, including leader, brought and used own fan all night (Voegelin). De 2: Fans and single feathers used in meeting (Webber). See note 3. Cr 2: Any feathers used. Usually eagle tail feathers come out in set of twelve; that is, twelve good feathers found naturally in tail of each bird. "The twelve-feather set represents months of the year; we do not change that" (Voget). WRS: Eagle-wing fan with feathers bound together is most common. Fan is of same style as other ceremonial fans (Shimkin).

20. Kio: Buckskin feather sockets not decorated or beaded, but handle is beaded (La Barre).

21. W-P: Leader's fan passed only after midnight.

22. Kio: Leader holds own fan with staff when singing; other men do likewise with their fans when singing (La Barre).

D [534]

24. De 2: Anyone having single feathers or fan can use them any time they wish (Webber).

25. Cr 1: "Used to draw smoke to inhale" (Voget).

D [782] [823]

26. De 2: Whistle not used in "Wilson way" meeting (Webber). Cr 2: Sometimes used four times in course of meeting. Midnight: strong, sharp, long blasts four times. "We make these four long calls in order that the Creator might hear us. That is the way I understand it among the Crows." Right after the water call, leader goes outside tipi, usually whistles in order toward east, south, west, and north, the four parts of the earth. Four blasts are given to each direction, and a prayer is offered. Type of prayer depends upon the leader, "but each corner has something of its own." East: prayer to rising sun, which brings daylight, and to wind, which comes from east, about which all peoples, Indian and white, know. "I do not know what other countries have, but the Montana east wind is harmless." South: prayers offered to those things of the south, for instance, warmth and food. West: setting of the sun brings darkness. Also, certain foods come from the west. "Whatever property is needed from the west [the leader asks for]." North: the same holds for the north; but north wind usually cold, so leader usually asks Creator to control it, keep it not too cold so that animals will not die (Voget).

Crow NQ1D
Delaware NM7 ●



27. Gos: Also used before meeting, while all lined up outside (Malouf).
28. Gos: See note 265a.
30. WRS: Leader allows others to blow whistle as special privilege—to show thanks to Creator (Shimkin).
32. Ab S: Square of purple velvet (Voegelin).
33. Com and No C: Chief drummer does not necessarily provide or tune drum. Best drum available used (Hoebel). Cr 1: Leader has complete outfit, and if drummer, whom he selects, has no drum, leader lends his (Voget). Cr 2: Chief drummer uses own drum (Vóget).
35. Cr 2: Can be copper, gold, aluminum, or "anything of iron" (Voget). Gos: 1½-gallon size used, although gallon (No. 6) size desired (Malouf).
36. 13 T: Among Caddo (La Barre).
37. Cr 2: Charcoal obtained from leader's stove (Voget). Gos: Fourteen pieces; Goshute don't know what they represent (Malouf).
38. De 1: Otter skin sometimes used (Webber). Cr 1: "Buckskin of a sort," that is, any well-tanned skin (Voget). Cr 2: Usually deerskin best, but any soft skin may be used (Voget).
40. Kic: Six pebbles used (Noon). Ab S: Eight small round pebbles (Voegelin). De 1: Four small stones used (Petrullo, 50). Cr 1: Seven stone "marbles" (Voget). Cr 2: "Small ball-like rocks" (Voget).
43. Ab S: I suspect it is significant, but my informant did not comment on this (Voegelin). Cr 1: "It means the stars, I guess" (Voget). Cr 2: Symbolized stars in the sky; later the people observed that law officers carried such, and so "we use it to signify living within the law" (Voget). Gos: Represents Morning Star (Malouf).
44. Gos: See note 265a.
46. Cr 1: Chief drummer's used if he has one (Voget).
48. Ab S: Used only after drum had passed halfway around tipi, as far as door; then individual drumsticks smoked in cedar, and permission given to use them—but this long before midnight (Voegelin).
50. De 2: See note 83. Cr 1: Man asks permission of drum chief to pick out drummer (Voget).
51. K-A: Each person participating drums. Feeling strong that one should have peyote partner, and singing and drumming occur in couples. First man sings, his partner drums; then first man drums, second sings. Singing occurs in regular order. Drum skips and then goes back; then skips again, etc. (McAllister). Cr 2: If man on right (A) wishes man on left (B) to drum, B circles room clockwise and sits to right of staff held by A (Voget).
52. Ab S: "Women sometimes drum at a peyote meeting," but mainly men, I noticed (Voegelin). Cr 2: "There is no law against women [drumming], but they just don't" (Voget).
53. Kic: My information not definite on this point. My recollection is that the bag of cedar belonged to the cedarman—this may be a confused impression due to the fact that the cedarman alone threw the cedar on the fire (Noon). Cr 2: Members also have some for their own use (Voget).
55. K-A: No "cedarman"; drummer usually puts cedar on fire (McAllister). Ab S: Usually cedar sprinkled by leader (Voegelin).
56. Win: Both assistants to right and left of leader have cedar bags and sprinkle it on fire at different times. Man on left did so at midnight ceremony (Praus).
57. Ab S: This tobacco is mixed with sage (Voegelin). See note 198 W-P. WRS: Person calling meeting, or sponsor, gives tobacco to leader before meeting, unless sponsor also leader (Shimkin).
58. Gos: See note 265a.
59. Ab S: Perhaps—but I never heard of it for peyote meetings, although Shawnee use oak leaves sometimes for ordinary cigarettes (Voegelin).
60. Cr 2: Paper not "proper"; only when no husks available (Voget).
61. Cr 2: If leader has no tobacco on hand, others may offer their own (Voget).
62. 13 T: Tobacco lacking among some Oto, Pawnee, Winnebago (La Barre, 79). Ute: Tobacco not used in "old Sioux way" sects among Ute and Goshute.
63. Win: Cost of peyote defrayed by persons sponsoring meeting; I received buttons from fire chief, assistant at right of leader, and various men in the group (Praus). WRS: Sponsor gives peyote to leader. Names for peyote: (1) hus; (2) wɔgʷeβi—a Comanche word for "cactus" (Shimkin).

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Comanche NO6
Delaware NM7 ●



C
D
171
795
796

64. Cr 2: Represents the original peyote which the woman found, as recounted in the legend which purports to account for the discovery and subsequent use of peyote (Voget).

65. Opler (1936, 160) states "some [Mescalero] peyote shamans trace a cross of pollen on the 'chief peyote,' some do not." Cr 2: Lines "grow" on peyote naturally; that is, peyote is not redecorated, the lines (white) being natural products (Voget).

67. Cr 2: Informant thought the chief peyote could be eaten, but did not know of any instance (Voget).

69. K-A: Called a star rather than a cross (McAllister). Cr 2: Represents four corners of earth and also sun's rays (Voget). WRS: At times four, eight, or twelve leaves used to produce different forms (Shimkin).

70. Win: See note 63.

71. K-A: Not necessarily. Depends upon supply and generosity of leader (McAllister). Ab S: People urged to eat their own peyote, if they had brought any, early in evening (Voegelin). De 2: Peyote other than leader's may be eaten before midnight if leader's supply runs out (Webber). Cr 2: One's own peyote can be used from the start (Voget). WRS: Leader's peyote required only for "first round" (Shimkin). Gos: All peyote in one bag (Malouf). W-P: No individual supplies of peyote used in meetings.

73. Kio: Called "road chief" or "road man" from the "peyote road" on symbolic altar; leader tells them the "road" to go (La Barre). Ab S: "Boss man" or "road man" (Voegelin). De 1 and 2: "Road man" (Webber, Petrullo). Cr 2: Usually just plain "chief" (Voget). WRS: tegwahin (Shimkin). Gos: See note 265a.

74. De 2: In one "Wilson way" meeting, the road man sat at east end of moon, faced west (Webber). In one Big Moon variant, road chief to east of altar (Petrullo, 182). See note 97.

79. Kio: Four assistants if peyote woman, water and food bringer, is included (La Barre). De 2: See note 83.

80. De 1 and 2: Called "drum chief" (Webber). W-P: Leader's wife often chief drummer.

81. Win: Chief drummer sits at leader's left (Praus). No C: At leader's left (Hoebel).

83. De 2: "In some Caddo Delaware 'Big Moons' " the drum chief accompanies the drum round the circle, drumming for each singer (La Barre, 69). At start the fireman drums not only for road man, but for everybody completely round the circle; they have as many as five assistant firemen and they drum in turn until end of meeting (Webber). Win: May be chosen by anyone (Praus). Cr 1: May or may not (Voget). Cr 2: Any man can drum if picked out by the singer (Voget). WRS: May drum for beginner (Shimkin). Ute: Chief drummer drums for each singer in turn once during meeting. W-P: May drum for anyone who asks him, or he may offer to drum for individuals. Singer may ask anyone to drum for him; leader often asked. Taos: Singer may ask anyone to drum for him (Parsons).

84. Ab S: At meeting I attended, a visiting Arapaho filled all the functions you note for cedarman. But he was not explicitly referred to as cedarman (Voegelin). Win: See note 56. Cr 2: Apparently selected by leader for each meeting. There might be a different one before and after midnight (Voget).

85. Win: Sits at leader's right (Praus). No C: Sits at leader's right (Hoebel). Cr 2: "Just chance" (Voget).

88. Ab S: Also second fire chief (Voegelin).

89. K-A: Yes, but theoretically fire chief *should* sit on south side (McAllister). De 2: Firemen sit on both sides of door (Webber).

90. Cr 1: "He builds the fire, it commences" (Voget).

92. Win: See note 162.

93. Cr 1: "Well, he lets them come in, he lets them go out. If sick or helpless, he has to help"; otherwise people find own seats (Voget). Cr 2: Conducts late arrivals to their seats (Voget).

94. Kio: In theory; not rigidly adhered to (La Barre). De 2: Bathing not always before, sometimes after meetings (Webber). No C: Only chief and assistants by requirement, others may (Hoebel). Cr 1: If they have to (Voget). Cr 2: The people clean up. Could be viewed as a purification (Voget). W-P: Bathing recommended; often done in hot springs.

95. Ab S: Tipi, sometimes in house (Voegelin). Cr 1: If people want to put up a meeting, they have it at their house (Voget). Cr 2: House or tipi may be used, latter more proper (Voget).

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Comanche N06
Delaware NM7



Gos: Although tipi preferable, house used at meeting attended. All good peyote members have houses facing east for that reason (Malouf).

96. Kio: In old days; not now (La Barre).

97. De 2: One Big Moon variant has entrance to west (Petrullo, 182). Sometimes door to west (Webber). See notes 74, 99.

98. De 2: Most usual Big Moon crescent altar is drawn on ground, instead of being made in a mound. Numerous other innovations in type of altar were introduced by Wilson and his followers (Petrullo, 80, 179–184). However, Anderson's Big Moon altar, consisting of crescentic mound with a line on its crest, is described and shown in picture (Petrullo, 48, 101). Win: Altar consisted of pit inside of horseshoe incised on floor. Lines extended beyond altar in the cardinal directions (Praus). Altar resembles that of the Delaware Big Moon variant shown by Petrullo, plate 3, page 79. Gos: Inasmuch as meeting held in dwelling, special altar constructed. In addition to crescent, apron of earth extended toward the east from concave side of moon which protected the wooden floor from hot embers carried in from fire outside (Malouf).

99. De 2: End toward west in one Big Moon variant (Petrullo, 182). See notes 74, 97. Win: See note 98.

100. De 2: See note 98. Win: See note 98.

101. Gos: Kerosene lamp, four sticks, and hot coals used in place of fire impossible in house (Malouf).

103. Com: Sticks form tipi (Hoebel). Cr 2: Point or "face" west (Voget). WRS: Must be neat is only rule (Shimkin).

104. Kio: In theory; not rigidly enforced. One leader insists fire be lit with one match (La Barre). Cr 1: "Matches is the quickest, or they could use 'clinkers'; that is the Indian way. But that is all past, you know" (Voget). Cr 2: Match employed (Voget).

105. Com and No C: Seven sticks on fire (Hoebel). De 1 and 2: Twelve sticks at start (Petrullo, 50, 101). Cr 2: Number varies with weather, but usually at least four (Voget). Taos: Seven sticks (Parsons).

106. WRS: Sometimes carved (Shimkin).

108. Ab S: Not obligatory, except for female. "Should wear moccasins." Several men wore blankets; "depended upon whether they owned one or not" (Voegelin). Cr 1: "They put on the best they have; they doll up, just as the whites when they go to church" (Voget). Cr 2: People wear their best clothes. Apparently no preference for old-time dress (Voget). Taos: "Peyote boys" wear American shoes and hats, contrary to the rule of going in Indian habit while at the pueblo. Peyotists refuse to cut seats from trousers (Parsons).

109. Cr 1: When dark (Voget).

110. Kio: Varies with leader (La Barre). Ab S: Leader offered prayers when putting up tipi, putting the sage (?) cross on moon, etc., but I do not think he prayed just before going in, except when he made the peyote tea just before the meeting (Voegelin).

111. De 2: Chief enters alone and is seated when others enter (Petrullo, 89; Webber). Gos: Chief enters alone and blows whistle for others to enter (Malouf). See note 265a.

112. De 2: Drum chief led worshippers into tipi (Petrullo, 96).

114. Cr 1: "Each family goes together; women could precede men" (Voget). Cr 2: Such an arrangement could be due to pure chance (Voget).

115. Kio: Women attend, but no children except when meeting given to heal child (Noon). WRS: Children allowed only if ill (Shimkin).

117. De 2: See notes 74, 97, 99. W-P: Rules for seating not fixed. When room, husband and wife sit together in inner circle; when crowded, wife and children sit back of husband.

119. Kio: Varies with leader; some on south side; some near door; some anywhere (save officials' places) (La Barre).

120. De 1 and 2: Women south of altar, men north of altar (Petrullo, 57; Webber). Cr 2: Single line used so no one sits between anyone else and the Creator's gift. Segregation would be result of chance (Voget). WRS: Theoretically proper, often disregarded (Shimkin).

122. Kio: All worshippers sit in single row save when more worshippers than can be thus accommodated (Noon).

124. Cr 1: Blankets (Voget). Cr 2: Each has his own cushion (Voget).

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125. Ab S: Sage underneath blankets (Voegelin). WRS: Sage formerly required (Shimkin).

127. Cr 2: Instructions first as to teaching or belief, followed by prayer (Voget).

128. De 2: Leader prepares first prayer cigarette, which is passed around to all (Webber). Cr 2: Cigarette rolled before prayer (Voget). Gos: See note 265a.

130. Ab S: Leader prayed silently while smoking (Voegelin). Cr 1: Tells about purpose of meeting so they may pray (Voget).

132. Cr 1: To "peyote chief," but "just the same as moon" (Voget). Cr 2: Blown toward "chief peyote" (Voget).

133. Ab S: Prayed with bowed heads, eyes closed, men must kneel (Voegelin).

134. De 2: In original Wilson Moon, cigarette butts placed at left side of altar, in front of road chief, but in other Big Moon ceremonies left in front of smoker to be gathered by fire chief (Webber). Cr 2: Those sitting facing convex surface of moon place their cigarette butts against moon; those facing concave side place their butts at point of horns of moon; those north of line between leader and entrance place theirs on north side of altar, and vice versa (Voget). WRS: Butts placed against moon by fire chief and assistant (Shimkin).

135. Cr 1: "Some take sage from seat and rub this on hands" (Voget).

136. K-A: Sage leaves placed under blankets and each person uses his own (McAllister).

137. Cr 2: Informant did not remember any chewing, but it may have happened a long time ago (Voget).

141. K-A: Yes, but at the meetings I attended they "cut the dose," as they termed it, to two, out of consideration for my presence, for they thought I would find it difficult to eat four; and I would have at one time (McAllister). Ab S: At the meeting we attended each was told to take two buttons (Voegelin). WRS: Some take two (Shimkin).

142. K-A: Optional: some do, most do not. Kio: Mode of eating depends on each individual (La Barre). Cr 1: Some. Most simply take it and eat (Voget). WRS: As special sign of respect to Creator (Shimkin).

143. Kio: Mode of eating depends on each individual (La Barre). Cr 1 and 2: Optional (Voget).

144. Cr 1: Four eaten; then they sing. When meeting starts, outfit has to be going [around] all the time (Voget). Cr 2: First four peyote buttons eaten before singing starts (Voget).

145. Gos: See note 265a.

146. Ab S: Leader held paraphernalia in hands; drum chief likewise (Voegelin).

147. Ab S: Leader sprinkled cedar (Voegelin). Cr 2: Chief does the incensing at this point (Voget).

148. Gos: See note 265a.

149. WRS: More than once; number not fixed (Shimkin).

150. K-A: When cedar is placed on the fire, each person symbolically washes himself with it (McAllister).

151. Cr 1: "Just once; so everyone can smell the smoke" (Voget). WRS: Number not fixed (Shimkin).

152. Cr 1: In front of leader (Voget).

154. WRS: Either Shoshone or Arapaho starting song may be used (Shimkin). Gos: See note 265a.

159. Ab S: "The usual number is four, but sometimes men feel so good that they may sing as many as twelve songs" (Voegelin).

160. De 2: Each man sings, then drums for his neighbor (Petrullo, 91). In Wilson Moon the drum chief and different fire chiefs do all the drumming (Webber). See note 83. W-P: See note 83.

161. K-A: Women attend, but I never saw them participate. I do not know if there is a rule; probably merely a feeling that they should not (McAllister). Cr 2: No rule against women singing (Voget). Gos: I inquired about this especially and they said women used to sing but do not do so any more (Malouf). W-P: Women hold staff, lead singing, drum.

163. De 2: No midnight recess (Petrullo, 42). Midnight water call and recess present in Big Moon cult (Petrullo, 158). Recess only to burn cedar incense for everyone to fan over themselves while standing. Water in meeting all night and can be used any time, but is used with restraint (Webber; Petrullo, 93). Gos: See note 265a. W-P: No fixed song for water calls, or any time.

164. Ab S: Recalls and lays them down (Voegelin). Cr 1: "Chief has to put outfit in front of himself" (Voget).

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165. De 1: Ashes formed into an eagle in one small-moon variant (Petrullo, 78). De 2: Ashes piled on each side of fire to represent the lungs of Jesus. Also formed into a heart (Petrullo, 101, 181). Win: Ashes formed into a moon twice during the ritual and, in addition, formed into a heart twice, the "Morning Star" twice (the second time with lines across two points), a cross (by filling with embers the interspaces of the cross incised on floor), and finally a sun (Praus).

169. De 2: See note 163. Cr 2: By cedarman (Voget).

170. Cr 2: Four blasts on the whistle; then two songs are sung, the first being "fixed" (Voget).

171. WRS: Sometimes twice (Shimkin).

172. De 2: Special water song used to call for fresh water in morning (Petrullo, 93).

173–174: Com and No C: Water handed into lodge by women; put in position by fire chief (Hoebel). Kio: Woman once observed blessing water at midnight (Noon).

176. W-P: Cedarman only sprinkles cedar on fire; no prayer.

177. Ab S: Swings water bucket four times over fire on which cedar has been sprinkled (Voegelin).

180. Cr 1: Drummer both smokes and prays (Voget).

182. Gos: To moisten "mother earth" (Malouf).

186. Cr 2: Makes circuit of room after removing water (Voget).

187. Ab S: Drum and staff were lying beside the leader; he picks up staff at this point and hands it to man on his left, while he goes outside with whistle (Voegelin). Win: During drinking of water at midnight, staff placed upright in hole just west of incised horseshoe, in front of leader (Praus).

188. Win: Drummer goes outside after paraphernalia placed (Praus).

193. Win: Only individual fans used after midnight (Praus). Kio: Only fans (Noon).

194. K-A: No urging; each is expected to be his own judge (McAllister). Kio: Depends on leader and age of those to whom he is talking (La Barre). Cr 1: "Chief tells them to eat all they wish, but it is up to the individual. Free will, you know. He does not coax to fill them up, or not to" (Voget). Gos: Urged to eat as much as desired (Malouf).

195. Kio: Depends on leader and age of those to whom he is talking (La Barre). Ute: In "old Sioux way" devotees urged not to eat too much; usually eat only four buttons.

196. Kio: As designated by leader (La Barre). De 2: Road man usually announces that anyone wishing to pray through a cigarette may do so after midnight, but some leaders do not approve of individual prayers (Webber).

197. Kio: As designated by leader (La Barre). Kio: Exceptional. Only when woman is close friend of family of person being treated. Spiritual value of prayers of friends is greater (Noon).

198. W-P: For special individual prayers, leader rolls the cigarettes, to which he adds ground sage leaves. See note 57 Ab S.

201. De 2: Road chief lighted and puffed cigarette before handing it to individual for his prayer, then this chief puffed it and prayed following individual (Petrullo, 93). Cr 2: It might be handed to anyone (Voget).

202. No C: Instead of to cedarman, butt handed to fire chief, who blows four puffs toward altar (Hoebel).

205. Kio: Procedure not rigid. Leader may run this differently at each meeting (La Barre). W-P: Leader occasionally but not usually prays following individual prayers.

206. Kio: May leave between a man's four songs, if gets leader's permission. Prescribed etiquette for passing before smokers and eaters (La Barre). Cr 1 and 2: Permissible to leave any time, if necessary (Voget). Gos: No one left during songs, but several went outside during prayers in early morning (Malouf).

207. De 2: Fixed water call in morning for fire chief to bring pail of fresh water, replacing that which had been in meeting all night. (Petrullo, 93, 102). All blessings by road chief in Big Moon variant (Webber; Petrullo, 102). Win: No water brought into meeting in morning (Praus). Gos: See note 265a.

209. De 2: See note 207.

210. De 2: Road chief blesses water (Webber).

212–213. De 2: No peyote breakfast (Petrullo, 94). Peyote breakfast present in all Big Moon variants (Petrullo, 157). As a rule, at "Wilson way" meeting no peyote breakfast served; instead candy, refreshments served, especially if among rich Oklahoma Indians (Webber). Win:

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Food eaten outside without special ceremony after meeting (Praus). Cr 1: "If breakfast ready, she [woman water carrier] brings it in; if not, fire chief brings it in later" (Voget).

215. No C: In absence of corn, Cracker Jack (a brand of candied popcorn) used. Boiled raisins and rice used as fruit (Hoebel). WRS: Order varied; fruit sometimes last (Shimkin). Gos: See note 265a. Taos: Rice sometimes used in place of maize (Parsons).

216. No C: See note 215 for use of rice. Gos: According to my Washo-Paiute informants, Goshute boiled rice instead of corn at times. W-P: Fruit (canned peaches, salad mixture) sometimes served before boiled rice.

217. Ab S: Fruit was home-canned blackberries (Voegelin).

219. Cr 1: "Just cooked corn; if do not have it, use canned corn" (Voget). WRS: May be canned corn (Shimkin).

220. Ab S: Red and white striped peppermint stick candy, broken into inch pieces (Voegelin). De 2: See note 212. Cr 1: "Not here, but I hear those south boys use it" (Voget). WRS: For special ceremonies—Christmas, Easter, etc. (Shimkin).

221. Cr 1 and 2: Individual selected especially for blessing food (Voget).

222. De 2: Exit from tipi at dawn to wash and greet sun, then return to tipi until dinner (Petrullo, 93).

223–225. De 2: Drum untied and paraphernalia put away after blessing and before eating dinner at noon (Petrullo, 94). Win: Paraphernalia put away after blessing of dinner at noon (Praus). Gos: See note 265a. Taos: After breakfast, singing continues until paraphernalia reach chief (Parsons).

226. No C: Water tasted on drumstick (Hoebel).

227. WRS: Recently discontinued (Shimkin).

228. Ab S: Poured on west side of moon (Voegelin). Win: Water from drum sprinkled on four interspaces of cross (incised on floor of fireplace) which had been filled with live embers by the fire chief (Praus).

234. Kio: Usually handed by fireman to woman or women helpers (La Barre).

235. De 2: Meeting continues until noon (Petrullo, 94; Webber).

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236. Kio: No formal lining up to greet sun. May be individual wordless "greetings" (La Barre). De 2: Devotees file out of tipi and line up facing sun, at dawn (Petrullo, 93, 97). At exactly noon, leader gazes at sun and worships sun and blesses food (Webber).

237. Kio: May or may not return to tipi. Those with photophobic eyes seek shade either in tipi, under "shade," or under "tree" (La Barre).

238. K-A: Tipi dismantled, but altar simply left; no longer sacred, but not intentionally destroyed (McAllister). Kio: Depends on leader (La Barre). Cr 1: "Tipi might be taken down in evening, leaving altar way it is" (Voget).

240. Ab S: Bible not used, but I was told that it is used among the "Loyal" or Cherokee Shawnee of northeastern Oklahoma. Some among the Cherokee Shawnee take peyote "according to the Bible way . . . like those Ioways." The "Bible way" peyote takers are "against" old native religious ceremonies and dances, which is not the case among the Absentee (Voegelin).

250. Kio: Before the blessing of the water takes place, the food is outside the tipi back of the prayer. When it is set up for "peyote breakfast" it is between prayer and water (La Barre).

251–265. These elements are thus defined by Petrullo (1934, 154–58). Win: Jesus mentioned in all prayers (Praus). WRS: damē apē (Our [inclusive] Father). One informant used the exclusive form nī'mē apē (Shimkin.)

252. Gos: Prayers addressed to God, Jesus Christ, Mary, and Peyote (Malouf).

253. Ab S: "God sent the peyote for man to worship" (Voegelin).

254. Win: Meeting I attended was held to thank Jesus for the recovery of two women (Praus).

255. Kio: Some say so, some not (La Barre).

260. Ab S: Purification not stressed, but in line with all I heard about peyote (Voegelin).

261. W-P: Modifications were made, but there was no claim that they were based on revelations.

262. Kio: True of all American Indian religions about which I know, possibly of all approaches to all gods and spirits in all religion (maybe this is one of the definitions of religion!) (La Barre). Ab S: I should say so! "We are pitiful people" (Voegelin).

263. Kio: Like Calvin Coolidge's preacher, the Kiowa are "against sin" too; I don't know what else this element means (La Barre).

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264. Kio: Depends on the individual and his special life history (La Barre). C

265. Kio: Depends on the individual and his special life history (La Barre). Kic: The informant said the incised line on the crescent was "the line toward Christ" (Nobu). Gos: Simply called the path of life (Malouf). D 171

265a. A copy of the following program was given to the Ibapah Goshute by an Oklahoma Indian. When the copy was badly worn the Indians asked subagent A. L. Robertson to make a new one, which he did, sending me the carbon copy in January, 1940. 795 ● 796

PROGRAM: NATIVE AMERICAN CHURCH

Part 1—Enter Tepee about 7 or 8 o'clock p.m. in file viz., first, the leader, second, drummer or assistant chief, third, audience follows, all taking seats, fourth, last man to enter fire chief. 620

Part 2—First, let [place] peyote on moon, second, pass tobacco and corn husks to right to man next to door south, third, fire chief passes cigarette lighted [cigarette-lighting] stick to first man south side of door going around the fire. Man places stick in fire. The chief or leader offers prayer for purpose of meeting it of 5 finish prayer out. Everybody put down stubs around base of moon.

Part 3—Pass sacks of medicine [peyote] to first man south of door and everybody take 4 peyote each and chew and eat medicine.

Part 4—Leader, lay rattler, staff, feathers, and whistle before you, and smudge outfit with cedar leaves by putting in fire and pass over the smudge whole outfit 4 times. Motion forward and back and drummer follows same motion. Lay whistle vertical along side of moon, under chief peyote. Start singing first song follow with any other 3 songs. Pass rattler, staff to left—going around.

Part 5—Midnight. Fire chief fix fire clear up. Gather [place] cigarette stubs to each end of moon [tips of crescent].

Leader recalls outfit to him, puts cedar in fire smudge outfit, drum also and sing midnight song, smudge the water sitting before fire, and fire man behind it and pass to leader and drummer will take cigarette puff. A few times and pass to leader to finish, lay cigarette down between base of moon and whistle and spill a little water on the ground, pass to man on the south side of the door going around to the fire man and take out water, set some where outside and return into tepee. Go around the place and leader then passed the outfit back to the man where the outfit was recalled for taking out water. Leader steps outdoors to offer prayer to four corner points of wall facing, east, south, west, north, blow whistle facing east and going to south side and blow the whistle south and going to west blow whistle to west and going to the north side blow whistle to the north and then return inside and drummer will make cedar smudge to you and take your seat as before. Lay whistle back in the same place and proceed as before.

Part 5—Morning. Fix ashes along side of moon and clean up. Fire man hands you whistle and smudge feathers and whistle. Sing morning song and follow with 3 songs and lay everything to right and leader may ask anyone to offer prayer with cedar to smudge water and meantime drummer rolls smoke for woman and when through smudging water pass cigarette to fireman. He lights it and gives to woman, she offers prayer. When through she takes her seat and smokes, then gives to leader. He offers prayer, finishes, puts stub down as usual. Woman spills little water on ground, drinks and passes water to one south side of door and going around as before. Woman rises, going around and picks up bucket before stepping out. As soon as possible have breakfast delivered, water, corn, fruit, meat. Recall outfit.

Sing 3 songs. Last one quitting song. Lay outfit before you. Offer as blessing for all. Take off chief peyote. Untie drum and pass around the circle.

Fire man takes outfit outside and comes in, goes around and pass breakfast to man south side door in position. Go out as soon as through.